

1951's Outstanding Records—B. H. Haggin

THE *Nation*

December 15, 1951

New Facts on Korea

Willoughby Exposes MacArthur

BY I. F. STONE

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KAY BOYLE—FROM GERMANY

Hans Jahn Fights Rearmament

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North African Storm Signals - - J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Public's Image of Big Business - - Reinhard Bendix

Adenauer in London - - - - - Alexander Werth

Four-Point Agenda for Education - - Theodore Brameld

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ANNUAL WAGE

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UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THAT MR. TRUMAN'S SUDDEN DECISION TO rush back to Washington for talks with the Joint Chiefs of Staff was without special significance nobody believes. But nobody knows, either, which particular emergency called him home. Both Europe and Asia, not to mention the crisis in defense production at home, offer problems urgent enough to warrant quick top-level consultations. The failure of the secret disarmament talks at the U. N., although announced and discounted in advance, increased the mood of futility that envelops the whole Paris meeting; but rearmament is going no better. Slowly the Western world is coming to realize what most experienced observers have been pointing out ever since Ottawa: the master program of the North Atlantic alliance has been proved unworkable—a fiasco before it is fairly launched. While the Harriman committee labors frantically to scale it down to a point somewhere near European capabilities, emergency dollar aid is being hurried to London and Paris to bolster the economies of our leading allies, already threatened with collapse. Perhaps the most revealing comment on the situation was Churchill's sensational acknowledgment that Bevan, by "accident," had been right. Meanwhile the Korean truce talks, bogged down on three critical issues, called for equally quick decisions in Washington. The question had to be faced what to do if no armistice agreement could be reached by December 27, when the allotted thirty-day period would end. There was talk of using atomic weapons, of the need to "reconsider" the issue of bombing Manchurian bases; in fact, the whole MacArthur strategy was being dusted off and newly scrutinized as the week began. But if Korea was the President's chief concern, it too would have to be dealt with in the context of mounting difficulties and the impatient demand for a supreme effort to end the cold war rather than extend the hot one.

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"THE TRAITOR TO ETHICAL STANDARDS OF law enforcement," says J. Edgar Hoover in the current issue of the *FBI Law-Enforcement Bulletin*, "will eventually be discovered, but often not until he has brought a great deal of harm to both the public interest and the reputation of his organization." We take no exception

to that statement, but it prompts us to wonder how the tax collectors and Department of Justice officials whose questionable activities are now being studied by a House Ways and Means subcommittee escaped the vigilance of the FBI. Every government employee high and low is supposedly subject to a "screening" by Mr. Hoover's investigators, who, as we know, often delve deeply into private lives as well as political activities. The efficiency of the FBI is such that it can put an unerring finger on the Department of Labor stenographer whose boy-friend reads the *Daily Worker* or the attaché of the United States legation in Ruritania whose sex life has been a trifle unorthodox. How, then, is it that the extra-curricular operations of numerous Collectors of Internal Revenue and the deals in mink and motor cars of Theron Lamar Caudle were not reported until the pertinacious Senator Williams began his crusade? Were the loyalty checks of these men so perfunctory that their associations with lawbreakers remained undiscovered? Or were adverse reports in fact made by the FBI and suppressed? These questions seem to us highly pertinent, particularly in view of reports that the President is being urged to give Mr. Hoover the job of inquiring into all charges against government officials.

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A NEW WAY OF DISFRANCHISING NEGROES was devised recently, when Circuit Judge M. B. Smith handed down an order which literally ruled out of town the Negro section of Altamonte Springs, Florida. Mayor John C. Goddard let the cat out of the bag by saying, "I believe the move will greatly add to the harmony in the town in general, as there will be no more rivalry and bidding for the colored vote." At the time of the unprecedented action there were 210 whites and 205 Negroes on the qualified-voters' list of the municipality. By court mandate white political supremacy in the community will now be based not on a shaky five-vote majority but on a solidly lily-white electorate. The stroke of the judge's pen deprived the town's Negro residents not only of all voice in the public affairs of the community but of all legal claim to police, fire, sanitation, or public-health services, previously provided them after a fashion. While they have ignored this aspect of the matter, Florida papers have made much of the fact that the court order prohibits the municipality from "exercis-

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ing any jurisdiction" over the Negro community. This new emancipation can be compared with the removal of the American Indian to barren reservations where he was "free" to govern himself by tribal law provided there was no conflict with United States law. Nor can we escape the similarity with Hitler's consignment of the Jews of Europe to second-class citizenship behind ghetto walls.

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THE WHITE SUPREMACISTS WERE FORMERLY content to gerrymander voting districts in such manner as to assure white majorities in each. Now for the first time Negroes have been gerrymandered out of town. There are, of course, a considerable number of communities and counties in the South which through terrorism and other forms of pressure have managed to maintain a lily-white status. That this is contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution does not appear to matter much; not since 1903 has the federal government admonished a community to open its doors to residents regardless of race. If the action at Altamonte is condoned, the way will be wide open for Dixiecrat politicians all over the South to crush the grass-roots democracy which has been slowly evolving since the Supreme Court decisions against the white primary. With racial residential zoning unimpaired by Supreme Court decisions forbidding judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants, it would be a simple matter to amputate Negro neighborhoods from the body of many communities. Since Negroes are no longer a majority in any state, the white supremacists are generally reconciled to increasing Negro participation in state and federal elections, but they are still eager to bar Negroes from local balloting. Altamonte thinks it has found the way.

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THE REFUSAL BY THE UNITED STATES ON two occasions to grant a visitor's visa to Dr. Ernest B. Chain, co-discoverer of penicillin and 1945 Nobel prize-winner, brings into sharp focus the aberrations of United States visa policy in recent months. Dr. Chain was first refused a visa last spring when he asked for one in order to make a five-week trip to the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands, though the World Health Organization, of whose antibiotics committee he is chairman, supported his request. He was refused a second time when he wanted to attend the dinner given by the Chaim Weizmann Institute of Science on November 29 in honor of the seventy-seventh birthday of the President of Israel. Neither Dr. Chain nor the W. H. O. has been told why a visa was refused. Dr. Chain thinks that it may be in retaliation for his having undertaken a W. H. O. mission to Czechoslovakia to restore a penicillin plant in that country. In view of the extent to

which the poison of McCarthyism has seeped into our governmental system, it is probable that Dr. Chain was denied his visa because no consular official wished to accept responsibility for authorizing the visit of a person—even a very distinguished person—who had recently visited an East European country. But whatever the reason, Dr. Chain's case offers the United Nations an opportunity to break the bonds which prevent it from functioning fully. Why the W. H. O. failed to press the request for a visa is inexplicable. As a specialized agency of the U. N. it is entitled to certain privileges, among them the right to assign experts of various countries to missions conducted under its auspices. It is not too late for the U. N. and the W. H. O. to take this matter up again with the State Department. The refusal to grant a visa to Dr. Chain contravenes the agreement between the United States and the United Nations.

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WILBUR YOUNG, INDIANA SUPERINTENDENT of Public Instruction, who is a Methodist and a Mason, has asked nineteen Catholic priests to assist him in screening future public-school textbooks "for traces of communism or subversive influences." Mr. Young is particularly concerned with thirty-eight new social-study books which have been submitted for possible use in the public schools. His Catholic advisers will report to him, and he in turn will report to the state textbook commission, of which he is a member. While indorsement by the advisers would not insure acceptance of a text, it is apparent that their veto would assure its rejection. A committee of Catholic advisers was appointed, Mr. Young says, because Catholics are "considerably versed in being able to spot Communist or subversive influences." This is the second manifestation in recent months of a strange malady afflicting certain Hoosier educators. Nowadays all teachers in the Indianapolis public schools must spend one full week, before school begins, visiting various local industries and being indoctrinated with the virtues of a free-enterprise system. Dr. Byron Williams has been placed in charge of the project, which, according to a report in the Indianapolis *Star* (September 2), has received "financial support . . . from public-spirited citizens." A state that sends Capehart and Jenner to the Senate has a heavy enough burden on its collective social conscience. These latest expressions of the same captious arrogance which the state's Senators exhibit has specific clinical connotations.

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THE BIG-BUSINESS MAXIM THAT DOG DOES not eat dog makes for the concealment, contrary to the public interest, of much information about corporate affairs. So we can applaud that rambunctious Texan, Robert R. Young, when he quarrels with his fellow-tycoons at the top of his voice, even if we are not

prepared to indorse his objectives. His latest campaign, conducted with full-page newspaper advertisements, is directed against the "New York Financial Group" which, he asserts, is bilking both bondholders and stockholders of the Missouri Pacific in order to obtain control of that railroad. Mr. Young's purpose in making his revelations is admittedly not altogether altruistic. His Alleghany Corporation owns a majority of the common and a large slice of the preferred stock of Missouri Pacific—securities which are treated as worthless in the reorganization plan designed to rescue the company from its eighteen-year sojourn in the Bankruptcy Court. If this plan is finally approved—the Interstate Commerce Commission is now reviewing it—claims of holders of first mortgage bonds will be satisfied partly in cash and partly in new securities while junior bondholders will receive new preferred and common stocks. In other words, the bondholders will become the full owners of the railroad and their committee, really the creature of a group of big insurance and trust companies, will gain the right to name its first board of directors "with all the patronage in banking, supplying, and lawyering that goes with this right." On the other hand, if the plan is amended and the bondholders' claims met in full, as Mr. Young declares they can be, the equity in the company will revert to its old stockholders and effective control to the Alleghany. We don't propose to umpire this fight, but we are grateful to Mr. Young for a fascinating and educational glimpse of "insider" operations—a glimpse that confirms our suspicion that "corporate democracy" is a very distant dream.

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IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF TIN, an important strategic metal for which this country is wholly dependent on imports, the Administration has contrived to be unusually clumsy. When the Korean war broke out, it went into the world market and purchased with both fists. As a natural result the price rose sharply—it doubled in a few months—and Washington complained bitterly that a wicked international cartel was gouging us. Then last spring the R. F. C. was given a monopoly of tin importing, and purchases for the stockpile were suddenly cut off. The price dropped like a stone, and there were loud outcries in Malaya and other producing countries to the effect that America, which normally consumes about 40 per cent of world production, was rigging the market. Malayan tin operators, who are operating under constant threats of attack by Communist guerrillas, assert that American policy is very shortsighted, since costs are rising as many properties approach exhaustion while the disturbed condition of the country precludes prospecting. However, the Bolivian producers of low-grade ore, whose only market is a United States smelter in Texas, appear to be in a worse

plight. They did not share in the post-Korean bonanza since they were selling on long-term contracts. Now these have expired, and the R. F. C. is offering to renew, paying \$1.12 a pound, a few cents under the current world price. The Bolivians claim that this is well below production costs—if the big Patino properties, all of whose ore is exported to Britain, are excluded—and are asking for \$1.50. No compromise has yet proved possible.

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AS A RESULT OF THIS IMPASSE STOCKS OF tin ore are piling up in Bolivia, and the finances of that country are being strained, for as *The Nation* noted in its issue of October 27, tin accounts for the bulk of both government revenue and dollar exchange. The Bolivian press is voicing hot resentment against American tactics while recalling Bolivia's efforts during the war to keep America supplied with tin when other sources were cut off by enemy action. It is said that the United States is using its buying power to keep prices artificially depressed, and the point is made that much larger price increases have been allowed for copper, zinc, lead, and other metals. However, W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the R. F. C., shows no inclination to budge. Early in October he publicly announced that our tin stock pile was "very large," placing us in a strong bargaining position with foreign producers. On the other hand, the Defense Production Administration lists tin as among the "most critical" of the basic materials current supplies of which are "insufficient for defense and essential civilian demands," and it has recently ordered further restrictions on its use. With such economies, and by drawing on the stock pile, we may be able to wait long enough to compel the Bolivians to give way. But it will be a hollow victory if the outcome is to force the highest-cost properties to close down and to depress the already low wages paid to the miners.

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A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION WAS TAKEN last week by the United Parents Association when it came out against section three of the notorious Timone resolution, passed by the Board of Education, which prohibits the use of school buildings and grounds by organizations found by the Justice Department or the New York State Regents to be subversive, or "organizations which the Board of Education or Superintendent of Schools has reason to believe to be totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive." What the U. P. A. objected to about the resolution was that it would open the way for a "dangerous abuse" of power. And indeed it would, for to take away rights others enjoy merely because an organization is on the Attorney General's list or because William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, "has reason to believe" it is subversive is to deprive its members of due process. The U. P. A. is to be commended for its stand.

Bevanism Spreads

ADMITTING that Aneurin Bevan was right—"by accident"—Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons on December 6 that the British rearmament program could not be carried out on schedule. It is hardly surprising that the Prime Minister should have reached this conclusion. The British defense effort is bogged down by shortage of materials, shortage of foreign exchange, particularly dollars, and shortage of workers. To carry out the program in full, and in accordance with the original time-table, would force a more drastic reduction in British standards of living than has hitherto been contemplated; would necessitate many new controls to restrict civilian demands that compete with military needs, and would probably require reimposition of war-time direction of labor to provide workers for the seriously undermanned defense industries. Such measures would not aid that recovery of private enterprise which is the announced goal of the new Tory government.

By an interesting coincidence Mr. Churchill's statement followed closely on two speeches by leading American business men who appear to feel that the speed and scope of the American defense program is endangering our own economic system. Addressing the first International Conference of Manufacturers in New York on December 4, Philip D. Reed, chairman of the General Electric Company, argued that military expenditures of the United States and its North Atlantic partners ought to be reduced or, at least, spread over a longer period. It was necessary, he said, to find a balance between the defense program and the maintenance of political, social, and economic stability, since the dangers of inflation were "as great or greater" than those of Russian aggression. Mr. Reed did not attempt to minimize the threat offered by the Soviet Union, but he declared that "the evidence indicated that Russia will not deliberately precipitate another world war in the foreseeable future."

These opinions seem to be shared by Lewis W. Douglas, former ambassador to Britain and now chairman of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, who on the same day told the National Association of Insurance Commissioners that "in the speed with which we are attempting to restore our military strength . . . we may be running the risk of permanently modifying the foundations of our society." Mr. Douglas noted that expanded rearmament programs were causing "painful strains" in Western economies, with the cost of living reaching new peaks and the burden of taxation "a grinding, painful, debilitating total." In view of the dangers to our economy, he added, "we should make sure that no more is spent than is really essential," and it was thus necessary to make the shrewdest estimate possible of Soviet intentions. Personally, said Mr. Douglas, he questioned whether Russia would use force to obtain its objectives.

The NATION

It is interesting to compare these statements by two eminent, conservative American business men with those of Aneurin Bevan and his associates which created such a ruckus a few short months ago. After his resignation last April Mr. Bevan argued that the full arms program adopted by the British government "cannot be achieved without irreparable damage to the economy of Britain and the world." The next day Harold Wilson, who had resigned as President of the Board of Trade, elaborated on this theme: "If the financial program for rearmament runs beyond the physical resources that can be made available, then rearmament itself becomes the first casualty, the basis of our economy is disrupted, and the standard of living, including the social services of our people, is endangered."

The Bevanites were sharply attacked, here as well as in Britain, because while they agreed that military strength was required to deter the Russians, they argued that the odds against the Soviet Union were already such as to render *open* aggression against the West improbable. Like Mr. Reed, they felt that the dangers of war were being overstressed and those of economic disruption disregarded.

Mr. Reed and Mr. Douglas are particularly concerned about the dangers of further inflation, and well they may be. At the moment retail prices seem to have settled on a plateau and we are even hearing complaints about overproduction. But this situation is not likely to last. Actual delivery of defense items, according to Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization, has reached a rate of \$24,000,000,000 a year and is due to rise steadily to a peak of \$48,000,000,000 in 1953. From now on, he says, "it will not be so much a case of guns and butter but of guns and less butter, or guns and margarine." The National Production Administration has recently announced drastic cuts in allotments of raw material to civilian producers of hard goods, which are bound to lead to shortages next year. That might be bearable, but at the same time incomes are continuing to rise, so that we are faced with an increased demand for such goods and, therefore, new inflationary pressures. The one possible remedy is a balanced budget, but that can be achieved only by a further drastic increase in taxation, which appears to be politically impracticable, or by a cut in military expenditure, since economies in ordinary government spending will not alone do the trick.

Yet the Pentagon is even now calling for more planes, more divisions, more warships, and still larger military appropriations. That is, perhaps, why a few farseeing American business men are urging a reassessment both of the immediate dangers that confront us and of those we may encounter by continuing to rearm at the present headlong pace. Bevanism, it seems, has spread to the United States and is becoming respectable.

December 15, 1951

North African Storm Signals

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, December 6

THERE have been ten days of calm in the United Nations. Holding secret sessions, with Señor Padilla Nervo as moderator, the representatives of the four great powers have been trying to square the circle—to combine in one disarmament program the main feature of the Western and Soviet plans. In a different atmosphere the task might be possible. The plans have important similarities and Vishinsky's last public statement, like the earlier speech of the British delegate, Selwyn Lloyd, contained suggestions that might lead to a compromise if one were really sought. Not once but many times the Soviet Foreign Minister has denied the West's contention that Russia is counting on the veto to paralyze any organization set up to control atomic weapons. However, the conflicting views of the antagonists on the central issue remain unchanged, permitting little optimism about the possibility of breaking the deadlock. While Mr. Vishinsky insists that atomic bombs must be prohibited immediately, putting this issue ahead of the issue of control, the three Western delegates stand pat on the reverse order. Vishinsky has been reported as making concessions on other points but maintaining firmly that—in his words—"whoever thinks it is possible and necessary to postpone the prohibition of atomic weapons until they have fixed their signatures to a convention on atomic weapons forgets that the setting up of control machinery and getting it running cannot be accomplished immediately on the day and the hour the prohibition decision is reached."

The present respite from debate in the Political Committee has permitted renewed discussion of the Moroccan question. The Arab League may pretend that it will fight to the last for Moroccan independence, but none of its member states, not even Egypt, will be heartbroken if they fail. For Egypt and the others Great Britain is the chief enemy; if France would keep up the appearance of being willing to negotiate, they would not press it too hard. At first the French government seemed disposed to accept a general debate on the resolution introduced by Egypt attacking French policy in Morocco, but in the end it adopted the bureaucratic view that the issue was not within the competence of the United Nations.

So instead of telling the Arab states that it would examine the demands, France simply stood on its record in Morocco, of which it claimed to be justly proud. Discussion was not in order. The Arabs could be confident that France would give Morocco full independence when the time was ripe. The item was ruled out in the committee charged with drawing up the agenda and afterward in the Assembly itself, thanks

mainly to the support of the United States. The Asian-Arab bloc, disappointed by the American stand not only on Morocco but also on the British-Egyptian dispute over the Suez Canal, made a strategic retreat. But only for the moment; it returned to the attack with a statement by Azzam Pasha, secretary of the Arab League, promising the Bey of Tunis "the complete support and assistance of the Arab and Moslem brethren" in his "difficulties" with the French.

Meanwhile General Guillaume, the French resident general in Morocco, was trying to induce the Sultan of Morocco to disavow the support of the Arab states. But in a speech impatiently awaited by both sides, the Sultan announced a few days ago that he was engaged in no negotiations with the Quai d'Orsay, thus disavowing not the Arab League but M. Schuman.

The Sultan is sticking to the position set forth in his Memorandum of November, 1950, after his visit to Paris. He demanded then (1) abrogation of the protectorate treaty, and (2) a new treaty providing for free trade unions, increased authority for the town councils, and more Moroccans in the administration. If these conditions were granted, collaboration with France would be continued. At the time General Catroux, a former resident general of Morocco, considered the Sultan's memorandum "reasonable and moderate." But General Juin, then resident general and now Eisenhower's right-hand man in N. A. T. O., moved so ruthlessly to crush this gesture of independence that in February, 1951, the Sultan was forced to issue a declaration condemning the Istiqlal (Independence Party) and to sign some forty

decrees dictated by the Resident. The Sultan later refused to carry out the terms of these decrees—called "reforms" by the French—on the ground that he had signed under duress, and his recent dealings with the Arab League show where he stands. The Istiqlal supports the Sultan, and unrest and revolutionary intrigue may be expected to increase unless the U. N. produces a solution. The situation is so explosive that it may well generate the first thunderclap of the storm over Africa.

Tunisia, though far less inflamed, is an even greater diplomatic worry to the French, partly because it is more clearly an international problem and partly because the Tunisian nationalists are better political strategists than the Moroccans. In the course of the prolonged negotiations since the war the Tunisians have carried on three political strikes—one for the purpose of demonstrating solidarity with the Moroccan nationalists. The French government signed an agreement granting autonomy to Tunisia early in 1951, but its implementation has been held up by the Bey's demand for a truly representative parliament and for a Tunisian government in which the proportion of Tunisians to French would correspond to the population figures—3,500,000 Tunisians, 150,000 French. The Tunisians maintain that after their demands for equality are met they will cooperate willingly with the French and "respect all French interests."

Whatever action is taken on these issues in the U. N., all true friends of France hope that it will profit from the lesson of Asia and the Middle East and not wait until the situation has got out of hand before making concessions already long overdue.

New Facts on Korea

BY I. F. STONE

Washington
MAJOR GENERAL Charles A. Willoughby set out to expose the American press when he wrote "The Truth About Korea" for the December issue of *Cosmopolitan*. He succeeded in exposing General Douglas MacArthur instead. Few seem to have noticed that MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence in that article contradicted much that MacArthur had testified to in the past.

If General Willoughby is telling the truth, MacArthur misled the U. N. in his first report on the Korean war. MacArthur informed the U. N. that "the character and

disposition of the Republic of Korea army indicated that it did not expect this sudden attack." General Willoughby now writes of the attack as an "alleged 'surprise'" and says, "The entire South Korean army had been alerted for weeks and was in position along the Thirty-eighth Parallel."

If General Willoughby is telling the truth, MacArthur also misled the Senate committee which investigated his dismissal last summer. MacArthur gave the impression that he paid little if any attention to events in Korea before the outbreak of the war. "I had no jurisdiction whatsoever over Korea," MacArthur told the Senate committee. "I had nothing whatsoever to do with the policies, the administration, or the command responsibilities, until the war broke out." Senator Morse questioned him about the gathering of intelligence in Korea before the war began:

I. F. STONE, for many years The Nation's Washington editor, now writes for the New York Compass. He will soon bring out a new book, "The Hidden History of the Korean War."

Senator Morse. General, regarding this matter of our intelligence information, as to what was going on north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, whose responsibility was it in the military organization to supply whatever intelligence would be made available?

General MacArthur. I fancy that it was the South Korean government. . . .

Senator Morse. And if they did and they found any information that would be of importance to the military defense of this country, were they under obligation to make that available to your command?

General MacArthur. I would assume they would. . . .

These replies were less than candid. Willoughby says that while MacArthur was "not responsible for intelligence collection or surveillance" in Korea, "Tokyo headquarters could not remain indifferent to the general situation" and "quietly maintained a reportorial unit in Korea." Willoughby even claims that information collected by this unit "was relayed to Washington, and as early as March, three months before South Korea was invaded, it unmistakably traced the North Korean build-up for war." The implication is that MacArthur's G-2 knew-it-all-the-time. MacArthur did not mention this when he appeared before the Senate committee.

This modest silence becomes less surprising when one examines two little-noticed documents which Secretary of State Dean Acheson put into the voluminous record of the MacArthur inquiry. These show that MacArthur did indeed relay a report to Washington in March, 1950, that South Korea would be invaded in June. But the documents also show something Willoughby forgot to mention in "The Truth About Korea." MacArthur's "joint weekly intelligence cable" dated March 10 apprised Washington that he did not think this report of a pending invasion should be taken seriously. This was followed by a second cable from "G-2 of the Far East Command," that is, Willoughby's outfit, dismissing the report altogether and saying, "It is believed that there will be no civil war in Korea this spring or summer." The date of that cable was March 25, 1950. The war began exactly three months later, on June 25.

WILLOUGHBY is critical of American reporters, indeed of Americans generally. Born a German aristocrat, the son of a Freiherr von Tscheppe-Weidenbach, not naturalized until he was eighteen, when he took his mother's name, MacArthur's G-2 chief writes that "these ragpickers of modern literature . . . have developed an insufferable but peculiarly American characteristic: they have come to believe that they are omniscient." Willoughby says they "thrive on sensational exaggerations. Accuracy is quite unimportant."

This is distinctly hurled from a glass house. Accuracy has not always seemed a prime consideration in the briefings Willoughby himself gave, if one compares his new revelations with the information he supplied in the past.

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A sample case is that of John Gunther. Gunther was in Tokyo when the war broke out, writing a book on MacArthur. He was given the V. I. P. treatment and had access to MacArthur and his top aides, including Willoughby. They seem to have given Gunther the same false impression MacArthur later gave the Senate committee investigating his dismissal. Gunther wrote in his book "The Riddle of MacArthur" that



Major General Willoughby

several of MacArthur's critics "have sought to lay at his door some responsibility for our negligent intelligence. The General was not to blame. Korea was not part of his domain."

On the basis of what he was told in Tokyo, Gunther wrote that "the South Koreans and Americans in Korea, to say nothing of SCAP in Tokyo, were taken utterly by surprise. They were as blankly astonished as if the sun had suddenly gone out. The North Koreans achieved complete tactical and even strategic surprise. It was more disgraceful than Pearl Harbor. Our eyes were shut, and even our feet were sound asleep." Willoughby did not tell Gunther the truth in Tokyo. He does not single him out for criticism now. This is the version of events MacArthur HQ preferred.

"No doubt," Gunther wrote, "this will all be investigated in good time." It was investigated the very day after the Korean war began. The inquiry was initiated by two pro-MacArthur Republicans—Bridges of New Hampshire and Knowland of California. The latter declared the day war broke out that the Administration had been caught "flat-footed." The former moved that the Senate Appropriations Committee, of which they were both members, summon Rear Admiral Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, then director of the Central Intelligence Agency, for questioning on the breakdown of intelligence. The Republicans scented another Pearl Harbor affair but emerged from that private hearing on Monday afternoon, June 26, strangely mollified. The supposed failure of intelligence was not made an issue. It is clear now that if it had been made an issue MacArthur's own intelligence would have been put on the spot.

Though Senators Bridges and Knowland told waiting

reporters outside the hearing room they were satisfied that intelligence had been "doing a good job," the official version of MacArthur HQ, the State Department, and the U. N. Commission on Korea was that the outbreak of the war was a surprise. The State Department White Paper spoke of it as a "surprise attack." The U. N. Commission reported to the Security Council that the South Korean forces "were taken completely by surprise, as they had no reason to believe from intelligence sources that invasion was imminent." MacArthur, as we have seen, reported to the U. N. that the South Korean army "did not expect this sudden attack." All three now appear to have been telling less than the whole truth.

STATE Department officials have been as reluctant as General MacArthur to speak frankly about the inception of the Korean war. This may be seen from the testimony given by Assistant Secretary of State John D. Hickerson last summer at a routine budget hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Hickerson described how his phone rang on the night of June 24 "and we had our first news of the Korean difficulty" (the war began June 25, Korean time; June 24, Washington time). Senator McCarran asked whether they had not known "about the Korean situation before that." Hickerson replied, "The attack, so far as I was concerned, came without warning, sir, and it was news to me."

Unfortunately for Hickerson, Senator McCarran was familiar with the secret testimony of Admiral Hillenkoetter before the same committee the year before. Senator McCarran drew a series of piecemeal and unwilling admissions from the witness. Hickerson acknowledged that there had been warnings. Senator Ferguson wanted to know what the State Department had done about those warnings. Ferguson asked whether the department had "a plan laid out as to what you were going to do." Hickerson replied, "We had done some thinking about that."

Senator Ferguson. Well, thinking is rather indefinite. What had you done on paper? What had you planned to do?

Mr. Hickerson. We had planned to take it to the United Nations for immediate action.

Senator Ferguson. Did you have a proposed resolution drawn up?

Mr. Hickerson. We did not have a proposed resolution drawn up on Korea because we did not know when an attack might come.

Senator Ferguson. Then you did not have a plan.

Mr. Hickerson. We knew we were going to take it to the United Nations. We knew in general what we were going to say.

Senator Ferguson. That did not take much thinking because that was your department.

Mr. Hickerson. Yes. We had a skeleton of a resolution here first . . . but only in very rough outline form.

So the Assistant Secretary of State who began by saying that the attack came "without warning" ended by admitting that warnings had been received, preparations discussed, and "a skeleton of a resolution . . . but only in very rough outline form" drawn up for submission to the U. N. The day after Hickerson testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Acheson put those two MacArthur intelligence documents into the record of the MacArthur inquiry. But Hickerson's testimony and Acheson's MacArthur documents attracted little attention, and Acheson did not point up their significance.

It would appear that there are skeletons hidden in the Administration's closet as in MacArthur's. Willoughby's article inadvertently opened another crack in what appears to be a bipartisan wall of silence about the beginnings of the Korean war. If there was good reason to suspect that an attack from the north was brewing, why were not public opinion and the U. N. alerted, North Korea warned? MacArthur was not slow to alert public opinion on Formosa, which was also outside his sphere of authority. Similar warnings have been utilized when there were reports of preparations by the Soviet bloc to attack Yugoslavia. The week before the war broke out Dulles was in Korea conferring with Rhee; General Bradley and Secretary of Defense Johnson were in Tokyo conferring with MacArthur. Why did they say nothing about the possible danger? The question was not put to Bradley and Johnson in the MacArthur inquiry. Dulles was not even summoned.

ACHESON'S answer about the failure to take these warnings seriously deserves to be carefully considered, for it raises another possibility. "The view was generally held," Acheson told the MacArthur inquiry, "that since the Communists had far from exhausted the potentialities for obtaining their objectives through guerrilla and psychological warfare, political pressure and intimidation, such means would probably continue to be used rather than overt military aggression." This coincided with Willoughby's own estimate in his cable of March 25, 1950. "The most probable course of North Korean action, this spring or summer," MacArthur's G-2 advised Washington in that cable, "is furtherance of its attempt to overthrow the South Korean government by the creation of chaotic conditions in the republic through guerrilla activities and psychological warfare."

The moment chosen did seem a poor one for the North. On the preceding Monday a newly elected South Korean Assembly had convened in Seoul with an overwhelming anti-Rhee majority. It seemed folly to attack a government which might so soon be transformed from within. The Russians were boycotting the U. N. in protest against the failure to seat Red China, and there would be no one at Lake Success to veto counter-action against a North Korean attack. On the other hand, Rhee might

have felt that it was better to provoke an attack than wait for one under circumstances which promised to become increasingly less favorable to himself. It was too soon decided that the North Koreans were lying when they said they went over to the offensive that Sunday morning after repelling three attacks from the South.

This, if true, would excuse neither the political folly nor the aggressive magnitude of the North's response; both sides were spoiling for a showdown. Attacks repulsed that quickly and easily could have differed little from countless similar incidents which had precipitated many outbreaks of fighting during the preceding months along that tumultuous border. But a "civil war"—the phrase is from that cable of Willoughby's—so provoked would call for different treatment from that emotional world mobilization into which the United Nations was stampeded. It would hardly excuse that quick protectorate over Formosa so long desired by MacArthur and Chiang and so quickly put into effect in the wake of the Korean outbreak. As Gunther reported, "At this period not many people thought that the Chinese would enter the Korean war. One story was, in fact, to the effect that they deplored it—strange as this may seem now. For the North Koreans, aggression had, for the moment at least, cost Mao Tse-tung a prize he coveted above all—Formosa."

"I do not believe," Secretary Acheson told the MacArthur inquiry, "that there was a failure of intelligence." There was certainly a failure of the U. N. to look before it leaped, and a failure of frankness on the part of MacArthur and the State Department in dealing with the public. The hypothesis here suggested of a deliberate feint from the south to provoke a North Korean attack

prematurely and bring American and U. N. support for Rhee would explain a curious story told by Gunther. He was lunching with "two important members of the occupation" the day the war began, when one was called to the phone and "came back and whispered, 'A big story has just broken. The South Koreans have attacked North Korea.'" The war began at 4:20 a.m. Lunch time was about eight hours later. Gunther dismisses the incident lightly. "The fact that the first information reaching Tokyo," Gunther writes, "as relayed to our party, was of an attack by South Korea on North, instead of vice versa, is not particularly important. The message may have been garbled in transmission. Nobody knew anything much at headquarters the first few hours, and probably people were taken in by the blatant, corrosive lies of the North Korean radio." Maybe. It would be interesting to ask MacArthur and Willoughby whether they were still dependent on the North Korean radio that many hours after the war began.

One item should be added which Willoughby did not see fit to discuss in his "Truth About Korea." An intelligence staff officer during a briefing at MacArthur's HQ in Tokyo on July 30 made the curious statement that "the North Korean army had not carried out its full mobilization plan at the time the war began June 25 . . . that only six full divisions had been ready for combat when the invasion started, although the North Korean war plans called for thirteen to fifteen" (Walter Sullivan dispatch from Tokyo, New York Times, July 31). The intelligence officer offered no theory that day to explain why North Korea should launch an invasion before it was fully ready. Perhaps some day General Willoughby will explain.

Adenauer in London

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris
THE cloven hoof of territorial revision emerged from under the well-pressed trousers of Dr. Konrad Adenauer when he came to Paris a fortnight ago. And territorial revision, as every sane person knows, can mean war. This is one of the things that have heightened French interest in Adenauer's visit to London. What is he up to, and what response will he get from the British Conservatives, so many of whom have a soft spot for Germany, and had it even in Hitler's time? Part of the Conservative press has been positively gushing over Adenauer. Sebastian Haffner, oracle of the *Sunday Observer*, described him as "the greatest German statesman since Bismarck," and without further ado proceeded to advocate a British-German alliance, with France as the

third—and presumably junior—partner. "A clear understanding on territorial policy in Eastern Europe," Haffner wrote, "would have to be the chief element of this tripartite alliance. It would have to include, on the British and French side, full diplomatic support for German national unity, and a German readiness for some territorial compromise with Poland." The last phrase means of course a Polish readiness for some territorial compromise with Germany—but Mr. Haffner has a tactful way of putting things.

There was always a marked difference between the Labor and the Conservative approach to Germany, particularly to Dr. Adenauer. The Labor government had a good deal of friction with the Germans—over dismantlement, over Helgoland, and much else—and Adenauer

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himself was deposed from his post of Burgomaster of Cologne by Sir Brian Robertson. The present High Commissioner, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, still remembered by many as a convinced Chamberlainite in the Munich days, has been patiently working for a German-British rapprochement. He even arranged for Adenauer's visit to London before the British elections. Whether under a Labor government Adenauer would have been received in London with quite the same "crowned head" honors we do not know. The Labor government was not keen on German participation in Western defense, though it agreed to it in principle. Herbert Morrison as Foreign Secretary convinced the French that he would support them in their resistance to turning the European army into a mere screen for German rearmament. What is the Conservative position on this?

While Adenauer is the chief exponent of European "federalism," there is no doubt that, unlike the German Socialists, he is perfectly willing to have Britain excluded. He does not particularly want Britain in the Schuman Plan, still less in the European army. British feeling about German rearmament is mixed. In the Labor Party a strong element is in favor of unifying Germany first and leaving the question of rearmament for later—and even then limiting it as far as possible. At the same time it is realized that this is a blind alley, for the Soviet Union will not allow Germany to be united if it is to be rearmed. Therefore persons in both Germany and England who want a united Germany but are unwilling to commit themselves to German demilitarization are driven to accept a German settlement "from positions of strength." This is even truer of the Conservatives, but the indications are that they will be very careful in approaching the question of German unity—all the more so since Adenauer, as distinct from a large part of German opinion, thinks the time is not ripe. In other words, the "positions of strength" are not quite strong enough yet.

IT IS all a pretty dangerous business, and the Conservative government no doubt realizes it. For one thing, as seen from Paris, Churchill will be unwilling to commit himself to a forced unification of Germany, or to a revision of the eastern border, or perhaps even to large-scale German rearmament before seeing Stalin. He rightly considers that Germany is the key to an East-West understanding, and he is apparently anxious to avoid irreparable damage to its achievement. Whether this plan will receive the blessings of the United States when Churchill visits Washington is another matter.

Some French papers profess to see Anglo-French rivalry in the "cultivation" of Adenauer. As *Combat* puts it, "Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick has been trying for months now to free Adenauer of his embarrassing pro-French tendencies." The Labor ministers, the paper goes

on, did not really care much for Adenauer; he was too Rhenish, too Catholic, too "Latin" in temperament. They would have preferred to have West Germany headed by Karl Arnold, who represents the left wing of the Christian Democrats. The Labor Party was so deeply shocked by the revival of German nationalist and Nazi tendencies that Ernest Bevin decided against the release of Kesselring and Manstein from prison. But Churchill was among those who joined the British committee for the defense of Manstein, war criminal though he undoubtedly was. Adenauer is probably hoping that Churchill will now have Manstein liberated.

Whether or not Adenauer gets satisfaction on this point, it is thought unlikely that the Churchill government at this stage will block all rapprochement with Moscow by agreeing to large-scale German rearmament, especially in view of the strong *révanchiste* tendencies developing in Germany. Certainly Mr. Churchill must have been disturbed by the speech delivered at the congress of the German Party (Deutsche Partei) by Adenauer's Minister of Commerce, Hans Seehofer, which asked not only for the revision of the agreements under which the eastern provinces of Germany passed into the possession of Poland but for revision of the Versailles treaty as well. Herr Seehofer's speech can hardly be dismissed as of no importance, for the Deutsche Partei is one of the three parties that form the Bonn government.

Moreover, a strong Germany might well start, if not a war, a balance-of-power game which could lead to a new Rapallo policy. Nor is it forgotten in London that if the Russians are really willing, under general pressure from the West, to revise the German eastern border, they have quite a few cards up their sleeve. Thus a tripartite agreement among Germany, Russia, and Poland, with Poland receiving compensation in the east for what it may relinquish in the west, is not out of the question. Germany would naturally much prefer to settle the border question without becoming a battlefield—an atomic battlefield at that—in the process.

There is another aspect of Anglo-German relations which has attracted much attention in Paris. German, as well as Japanese, competition is beginning to worry British export industries. As the result, a seemingly attractive but very dangerous idea, launched nobody quite knows where, is enjoying considerable support in British industrial quarters and is also favored by Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick. Germany, it is suggested, should concentrate not on peace production but on war production, and the Ruhr should become "the arsenal of the free world." This would lessen German commercial competition and enable Britain and France to spend less energy on armaments and more on their export trade. Whether the idea is equally attractive to Adenauer and the German industrialists may be doubted.

Hans Jahn Fights Rearmament

BY KAY BOYLE

Frankfurt, Germany

HANS JAHN, Social Democratic Bundestag member and head of the Railway Workers' Union (the *Bundesbahngewerkschaft*) of West Germany, is a tough, stocky, outspoken man of great warmth and friendliness, as different from the portfolio-carrying German bureaucrats and business men as fresh air is different from the established official air of Germany—a climate which anyone who has spent any time here knows no bombs have managed to dispel. But Jahn is a shrewd man too, and in his acumen he has relinquished nothing to the officials and industrialists to whom he is vigorously opposed, retaining through the years of opposition to them his blunt speech and his workingman's stout energy. He was a locomotive engineer, once, and now that he is over sixty—and looks a robust fifty—his hands are still the strong, square hands of the manual worker. It is a good thing to see such a man behind a desk in Germany. He leans across that desk to reach for a piece of paper, and he draws diagrams on it with quick, sure strokes to illustrate his statements, so that no confusion will remain about what he has to say.

What he has to say is that the Schuman Plan, if put into effect in its present form, would be the first step toward World War III, that Chancellor Adenauer represents only a negligible portion of the German people, and that the German trade-union federation (the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, or D. G. B.) will continue to stand firm against rearmament.

"The percentage of organized workers in Germany is higher now than before 1933 and is increasing every day," Jahn said during one of my recent talks with him. His own union, which now numbers close to 450,000 members, represents 86.37 per cent of the railway workers of West Germany, a percentage which places it high in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. "The D. G. B. has the confidence of the German workingman," Jahn said. "He knows that we're fighting not only in the trade unions but in the government and in industry to keep the power out of the hands of any single man or group of men. We've had enough totalitarianism to do us for some time," he said with a wry smile. "In 1930 I talked to an international congress in London, and I gave warning then that the state of latent war in which we lived created the morally sick conditions which could only lead to the outbreak of another kind of war."

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I told them that in the measure in which we succeeded in healing this moral sickness, which had been brought on by the uncertainty and sufferings of our time, so would the power of Hitler and fascism decline. I came back to Germany soon after that," Jahn said, "and began my preparations for preventive action. Over a thousand meetings of railwaymen were organized throughout Germany. Our slogan was: 'Today we appeal, tomorrow we strike.' But in May, 1933, Germany's Free Trade Union Federation was wiped out by official act, and its leaders can be counted among Hitler's first victims, the trade unions the first territory to be occupied in Hitler's name, the confiscation of trade-union property the first official Nazi swindle. But I tell you, the German trade unions will not let anything like it happen again. When trade-union men from Holland say to me now, 'Why did the German trade unions let democracy down in the nineteen-thirties?' I answer, 'Yes, we are guilty. We failed to make ourselves strong enough,' but I cannot help adding," Jahn said with a bright, shrewd look of humor in his eye, "'Why did your Queen Wilhelmina sign an order expelling me from Holland in 1935 when I took refuge from the Gestapo on Dutch soil?'"

Expelled from Holland, Jahn spent five years in Belgium and Luxembourg, and when the Germans overran the Continent in the spring of 1940, he fled through France, Spain, and Portugal, and eventually reached England. Jahn's wife and young child were imprisoned in Luxembourg, and his wife was sentenced to four years of hard labor, which was followed by four years in the Ravensbruck concentration camp. In England, Jahn organized sabotage groups of railway and other workers, and in 1943 and 1944, worked in Bari, Italy, where he was active in the reorganization of the Italian trade unions.

"The matter of democracy in the German trade unions has to take the German character into consideration," Jahn said in answer to a question I had put him. "There are many things I know we can change in Germany, but changing the German character is not a job I would like to undertake. The German is not a revolutionary, unfortunately, and he is reluctant to act if his rights have not been established by actual law. We fight for our rights through social reform, bringing pressure to bear not on big business, as you do in America, but on the state. So we must count on political parties sympathetic to our aims to put through protective labor legislation. We resort to the weapon of the strike, for instance, only as a last extremity. Therefore we're accused of being theorists,

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doctrinaires, who fight for a vague concept like code-termination instead of for higher wages and better living conditions as your trade unions do in America. Well, let me tell you that in spite of all this, 13,000 of our men walked out in the eastern sector of Berlin, striking against the Soviet administration. That was in 1949," Jahn said, "and they stayed out for over a month, and went back to work only when they got what they wanted, their wages and pensions paid in west-zone marks. Even though the Soviets reneged on their contract two days later, it was the first time the workers, any workers, had brought the Soviets to terms and forced them to a compromise. I was proud it was railwaymen who brought it off," he said.

I ASKED Jahn about the criticism made by American labor experts that "the structure of the trade-union movement in Germany is not based on power from the membership but from the top officials, who appoint the local leaders."

"That has nothing to do with the facts," Jahn said. "All delegates and officials are nominated by the union membership. The only restriction imposed from higher up is that the nominee may not be a Communist or a former or neo-Nazi. We're as much against the nationalist extremists as we are against the extremists on the opposite side," he said. "While the governing body of the D. G. B. has the right to veto the members' choice, it has no authority to name another candidate in his place," Jahn said, and he spoke of Christian Fette, newly elected head of the D. G. B., as "no more than the voice, the arm, the will of the D. G. B. membership." If this were true, I asked him, then why had Fette recently told the foreign press that if it came to a question of the Schuman Plan in its present form or no Schuman Plan at all, he (Fette) was in favor of the Schuman Plan. "Mr. Fette was expressing a personal opinion," Jahn said, and he referred to the statement made by the General Council of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I. C. F. T. U.) at the September congress in Blackpool. "Early in 1951," this statement reads in part, "the Schuman Plan treaty was initialed by governments, and at a meeting in April the subcommittee agreed that the efforts of the trade-union centers of participating countries, in cooperation with the I. C. F. T. U., to surround the Schuman Plan with adequate social safeguards and to secure satisfactory trade-union representation had been rewarded by substantial improvements on the original proposals." "The fight for trade-union representation on an equal footing with all the other organizations concerned in the Schuman proposals still goes on," Jahn said.

On one of my visits to Jahn, I came away with half a dozen issues of a miniature newspaper, numbers covering the past six months of its two years of publica-

tion. They lie on my desk as I write. It measures four and a quarter inches by six inches, this little paper, and it is composed of sixteen, double-columned pages. It is called *Stimme der Freiheit* (*Voice of Freedom*), and at first glance it might be taken for one of those compact, accomplished, underground publications which came from the clandestine presses of French Resistance groups during the German occupation, and like these it gives neither the name of the editor, or the publisher, nor the location of the printing-press on the masthead.

The *Stimme*, which is distributed in the eastern zone at the rate of 40,000 copies a month, is packed with condensed news reports, with telling statistics, with humorous stories local in flavor, and with excellent cartoons. The value of the information it gives is immeasurably increased by the fact that the *Stimme* is free of the onus of being published by the occupation authorities. On the back page of each issue an identical message is printed in block letters in one corner of the page. "We Count on You! You Can Depend on Us!" is written out clearly and boldly, month after month, like a personal letter written by the workingman of the western zone to the workingman of the eastern zone of Germany. Hans Jahn is the editor of this paper, and he is proud that the *Stimme der Freiheit* owes nothing to any political party or to any government, but is supported entirely by trade-union funds. He has good reason to believe that his name is as respected by east-zone railway workers as it is by the 440,000 odd members of his union here.

"To them, we're a window opening on the west," Jahn said to me last week.

If it is into the hands of these people that the *Stimme der Freiheit* goes, it does not mean that the circulation of the paper ends there. Jahn estimates a minimum of ten readers per copy, and is convinced that half a million people in the eastern zone read these sixteen-page, pocket-size sheets with regularity. It is interesting to have a look at the kind of information these half-million people are given. One issue of the *Stimme* reports the scale of pay in the Soviet army: a private is paid from 30 to 40 rubles a month, and a lieutenant is paid 800 rubles. A chart compares the purchasing power of the working hour in the east zone with that of the west zone. It goes, in part, as follows:

	East Zone	West Zone
1 lb. of bread	2 hrs., 45 min.	25 min.
1 light bulb	8½ hrs.	1 hr., 20 min.
1 cake of soap	2½ hrs.	1 hr.
1 lady's dress	135 hrs.*	35 hrs.

* If bought in the special-privilege H. O. stores, available only to Communist Party members.

One issue devotes a page and a quarter to listing some sixty plants in East Berlin and in the east zone which are at present producing armaments. Firm, location, and product are given. The list runs in part:

Pittler-Werke	Leipzig	Anti-aircraft parts
Maschinenfabrik		
Wolff	Magdeburg	Tank turrets
Mimosa	Dresden	Special airplane photographic film
RFT Kron and Co.	Berlin	Waterproof field telephones

Another issue of *Stimme* breaks down the east-zone People's Police into units, for the benefit of the workingman, and states that in compliance with an order signed by Inspector Zorn all *Volkspolizei* must make use of an APO number instead of street or area addresses so that the location of their training centers will not be generally known. It describes the training of *Volkspolizei* officers who have been sent to Korea, via Russia, as military observers, and of those being groomed for U-boat and naval service. On the front page of this same issue

appears the text of President Truman's message to Congress asking eight and a half billion dollars for the foreign-aid program.

Jahn believes it is too early to speculate about whether the D. G. B. will resort to militant methods of protest against rearmament, or against the ratification of the Schuman Plan in its present form, or against Adenauer's domestic and foreign policy. But he is convinced that further participation by D. G. B. representatives in the economy will become impossible if the present economic and social policies of the Federal Republic (read Adenauer) persist. "As far as militant measures go," Jahn says, "I can speak with certainty and authority of my own organization only. If freedom, democracy, and the dignity of man are attacked from any side, we are prepared to use every means in our power to preserve them. This is 1951, not 1933."

The Public's Image of Big Business

BY REINHARD BENDIX

WHAT do the American people think of the social efficiency of big business? In the more than sixty years that have passed since the adoption of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, they have had ample time to reflect upon the problem. Nation-wide advertising by the mass-production industries has created an image of "big business" as a symbol of American culture, but whether the public has accepted this image is not certain. To find out, General Motors, early in 1950, made a grant of \$50,000 to the Institute of Social Research of the University of Michigan. The institute's Survey Research Center has just published the results of the investigation.

Analyzing the opinions of a national sample of 1,227 persons, the report tells us what Americans think of big business. But this raises another question: How much importance should be attached to what they think? Will today's public opinion about big business affect the future actions of government, of big business, of any organization whose power makes it worth consideration in this context? I think it would be premature to attempt an answer to this question. It is possible that the report will have the effect of making the public-relations campaigns of various giant enterprises somewhat more sophisticated than they have been in the past. It is rather improbable that it will be used by groups favoring more vigorous federal action against monopoly and business concentra-

tion. By and large the public seems to approve of big business, though it has a critical attitude toward the abuse of power by the large corporations. In any case, the way in which this knowledge of public opinion is used by the powers that be will help us to assess the role of the social sciences in the development of democratic institutions.

The public's image of big business has many facets. The report examines a number of them, but it reminds us that various opinions which can be related statistically are not necessarily related in the awareness of the individual. Hence when we speak of the public image of big business, we refer to some extent to a statistical fiction.

The first point to be noted is the remarkable agreement among the respondents. While fine distinctions are drawn by the study, many of them are probably more apparent than real. Approximately 90 per cent of the persons interviewed could identify "big business" in terms indicating an understanding of the question. Some 76 per cent thought that the good features of big business outweighed the bad, though this response probably reflected the basic optimism characteristic of the American people. Almost none of those who in the main took a favorable view were uncritical of the effect of business bigness. And none who were very critical of it denied its important productive functions. Further analysis of opinions concerning the beneficial or adverse effects of business bigness revealed only minor variations between the many (76 per cent) who emphasized the posi-

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tive aspects and the few (10 per cent) who emphasized the negative. The judgments of the persons questioned depended in part on their knowledge; on the whole one can say that knowledge about big business is widespread. Although the issues did not seem to arouse people's emotions, their awareness and concern were evident.

Six hundred people were asked their view of the relative power of big business as compared with state governments, labor unions, businesses that are not big, and the national government. About 37 per cent ranked big business first or second in this list, and 68 per cent ranked it first, second, or third. The judgments involved in such ranking are difficult to evaluate, and to ask those interviewed what power position they desired for big business—and what power position they expected it to occupy in twenty years—merely compounded the difficulty. It should be noted, however, that a majority saw the power-position of the labor unions as higher than that of big business:

	<i>View of present position of the two institutions</i>	<i>Desired position of the two institutions</i>
	<i>Percentages</i>	
Big business above labor unions	41	54
Two institutions equal	4	7
Labor unions above big business	55	39

Although a majority wanted big business to be more powerful than labor unions, they did not want to see it become the first power in the country. About 34 per cent wanted it to retain the power it now has, but 24 per cent of these believed that big business now ranks third or fourth in power compared with the other organizations mentioned. A total of 42 per cent desired a decrease in the power which big business holds in their estimate at the present time; 16 per cent desired an increase.

Fully 44 per cent of the persons interviewed believed that "smart management" was responsible for the spectacular growth of modern large-scale industry. Another 32 per cent thought that the workers' efficiency and the production of satisfactory articles accounted for this development—there was some duplication between these two groups. The optimistic majority (76 per cent) and the pessimistic minority (10 per cent) differed among themselves.

<i>Reasons given for industrial growth</i>	<i>Optimists</i>	<i>Pessimists</i>
Productive qualities and activities	80 per cent	67 per cent
Extrinsic factors (like luck, financial backing, war economy, etc.)	30 per cent	47 per cent

That is to say, the optimists are more likely to credit industrial managers with personal responsibility for their business success than are the pessimists; the latter attribute success more to extrinsic factors, with special em-

phasis on the availability of credit. But it is apparent that this is a matter of emphasis, not a hard and fast distinction.

Big business was not seen as the first "power" in this country, 68 per cent of the respondents believing that the national government controls business, at least in some respects. This belief corresponded to the explicit preference for government control shown by 71 per cent of the respondents, though this preference varied somewhat with the conception of the power position of big business. Among other questions explored were the amount of readily available information concerning business concentration (fairly large), the proportion of people emotionally involved with these questions (about 25 per cent), whether an individual's opinion on them affected his preference for large or small retail stores.

ANOTHER set of questions dealt with the perceived effects of business bigness on wages, job security, managerial attitudes toward employees, rate of profit, quality of production. The answers can only be summarized here. The over-all approval of big business was reflected in the number of respects in which large companies were believed to compare favorably with small ones. To be sure, there was no lack of criticism: job security in big business is not what it should be, management is "impersonal and distant," products could be sold for less than they are, big business exercises too much power over small business. Yet big business has helped to create jobs (so 78 per cent declared), its plants are efficient, it has helped to develop new products by maintaining research facilities (80 per cent). The most significant of these favorable reactions to big business was perhaps the belief that it had been a major stimulus to employment. Of 308 persons who were asked, 236 indicated that there should be some group or agency responsible for providing employment. Though both the question and the answers to it were vague, people seemed to favor big business because it provides jobs, but would look to the government to provide jobs if business failed. It is noteworthy that more than 50 per cent of every occupational and income group favored governmental provision for full employment in a depression; the idea was even more strongly supported by low-income groups.

One is tempted to speculate about the implications of these data, and I believe that the study would have profited by doing so. There is, for example, a close similarity between these popular beliefs and Joseph Schumpeter's theory of monopoly. Schumpeter asserts that business concentration has led to a vast increase in productivity. Monopolistic devices are simply temporary buttresses to secure large capital investments against precipitous market fluctuations. And the large monopolistic enterprises are primarily responsible for the process

of technical innovation, a process of "creative destruction" which hastens the obsolescence of previous capital investments to the advantage of the new product. Though stated in much more sophisticated terms, this theory is not too different from the popular belief that big business is good because it creates employment and fosters technical innovation. Some of the people interviewed seemed to realize that the belief in the innovating function of big business is not compatible with the expectation that it can provide security of employment. At any rate, many seemed to remember enough of the depression to question the ability of big business to provide job security, even though it has created many jobs.

One question of which we get only a glimpse in the report is the relation between the popular quest for security and the despair of the individual who feels oppressed by the impersonality of large organizations. A significant minority held that some agency should guarantee employment; another group found managers "impersonal and distant" in dealing with their employees. This glimpse is not enough. How much do a sense of

insecurity and a feeling that the boss is indifferent really disturb people, and how much do the intellectuals impute these concerns to employees for reasons of their own? Taking a negative approach to business and the mentality of the business man is so much a matter of course in intellectual circles that it came as something of a surprise to find a majority of the people interviewed in favor of big business, not because it is "big," but because it is "business." Their commendation of big business despite considerable apprehension concerning its power is presumably due to an appreciation of the services and goods which big business has created. At any rate, when one sees housewives working sixty hours a week in fruit canneries during the summer at exhausting and disagreeable jobs—all for the sake of buying a television set—one develops a rationale for a positive view of big business, which Veblen perceived more clearly than Marx. It is hard to quarrel with a study for not answering questions which it did not raise, but it is pertinent to suggest such questions for further investigation.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Four-Point Agenda for Education

BY THEODORE BRAMELD

UNLESS the planet blows out its collective brains, our schools will survive. In their way they are just as indispensable to any organized society as food, shelter, and clothing. But will the schools that survive be good schools? It is possible that they will have become the tools of a tyrannical power, their entire effort expended in anaesthetizing mind and emotion—and with what may be astonishing efficiency well before the bleak era portrayed in Orwell's "1984." But it is equally possible that American education will become what it was intended to be by some at least of its great founders—a mighty agency through which ordinary folk in an evolving democratic order actually determine together what they most want and how they can get it.

If we assume that something of this kind is what ultimately is meant by *good* education, there is not a day to lose. The indifference of too many of us to what goes on in our schools and colleges is the strongest weapon of those economic-political rings whose tactics press us closer and closer to the edge of a home-grown totali-

tarian counter-revolution. Parents simply cannot continue to pay mere lip-service to an educational system in which, as in "virtue," they all believe. Elementary and secondary teachers cannot continue to be the yes-men of unrepresentative school boards or dictatorial administrators. Professors in their laboratories or studies cannot remain smugly insulated from the threats to their integrity lurking in the shadows of every college campus.

What, then can they—can we—do? Based on the preceding articles in this series but extending beyond them, here is a minimum four-point agenda.

I

The community must be brought into the life of the school and the school into that of the community at every vital point. In Pasadena more than a thousand citizens on more than a hundred committees have been trying to discover why their schools blew up about a year ago, to learn what the program of ex-Superintendent Willard Goslin was all about, and to salvage what they can. Why did Pasadena wait until after the majority of voters had been hoodwinked? Had these citizens gone to work earlier, had they opened channels of clear communication into the homes on every street, into business, labor, and religious organizations, Goslin's temperate

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program of education, based as much of it was on validated findings in psychology and the social sciences, would probably now be moving forward at a brisk pace.

Not all communities wait until the damage is done. Cross-sectional councils of citizens are at work in several hundred cities from Pleasantville, New York, to Eugene, Oregon. Connecticut and Wisconsin are among the states that have studied their schools in dozens of grassroots discussion groups. At many of these, round-tables of teachers, parents, and university consultants thresh out new methods of learning, the teaching of controversial questions, recreational programs, school budgets—every small or large difficulty confronting the ordinary school. In some places—Holtville, Alabama, is a famous instance—the school has become the nucleus of a community molecule: energy flows continuously in and out as children turn the environment into a living classroom and as farmers, workers, and housewives ask the school for all sorts of help from canning to carpentry to human relations.

There are dangers, of course, to guard against. For one thing, school-community programs and citizens' councils are not always representative. Pupils are often ignored as fellow-planners. It is difficult to enlist the active interest of minority groups: Negro and Mexican American parents, and working-class parents generally, often stay away for fear they won't be welcome. And if some sections of the community are forgotten or reticent, others are too eager: professional patriots or entrenched chambers of commerce sometimes gain control, and in at least one suburban school studied by the writer the Communist Party moved in for a short but devastating time.

For another thing, only great patience and skill in building group cooperation will hold the council together for year-to-year work. Unlike the typical parent-teacher meeting, where one finds much passive listening to "experts," the community council will succeed only when the school people learn *not* to talk down, and when an atmosphere of common respect, concern, and responsibility pervades every gathering.

I suggest to the Ford Foundation that some of its money be used for launching a nation-wide movement for community-school programs and councils, for developing experts in group participation to help set them up, and for conducting controlled experiments to test their effects. Meanwhile nothing except lassitude prevents Four Corners or Megalopolis from going ahead under its own steam.

II

The teaching profession must unite in a strong and independent organization. No other large group of comparable training suffers so miserably from organizational anemia. If the teaching profession is to become strong, it will be by recognizing what other professionals,

as well as skilled workers, learned long ago without benefit of physicists or biologists, who say the same thing about all objects of nature—that the whole is greater and more potent than the sum of its parts.

Of about a million teachers of all kinds in the United States, scarcely half are members of the National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, (A. F. of L.), American Association of University Professors, or other national organization. Compare this total with the national unions of doctors, lawyers, clothing workers, automobile workers. The members of any one of these four groups have an average higher income, more security, and better protection against exploitative conditions than do the teachers of America.

And even teachers who have joined a national organization remain comparatively weak. For all the commendable achievements of the N. E. A., the plain truth is that on most matters of policy it is dominated by the administrators, who on too many occasions seem more concerned to placate their school boards than to further the interests of the teachers under them. The converse of this situation is that countless teachers, with notable exceptions, seem more concerned to placate their superiors than either to gain their own rights or to serve their students with adventuresome methods or rewarding courses.

The A. F. T. also leaves much to be desired. It has failed thus far to devise a strategy that would break down the predominantly middle-class ideology and anti-labor bias of the great majority of teachers. It is frequently more preoccupied with matters of salary and teaching load than with the formulation of sound educational philosophy or practice. It has even become the fellow-traveler of its traditional rival, the N. E. A., and of groups infinitely worse, by its refusal to admit "totalitarian" teachers to membership—a refusal that has the effect of shooing teachers still farther away from any kind of classroom work that might be construed as critical of the status quo.

Yet with all its weaknesses the A. F. T. offers the best immediate expectation of a nation-wide, autonomous union of teachers backed by millions of other skilled workers. While the policy of A. F. T. headquarters is sometimes opportunistic if not timid, it can already be challenged successfully by its locals. Substantial gains were won by the striking Pawtucket, Rhode Island, local, despite the no-strike policy of the national body. At the convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan, last summer a large and vocal majority of delegates voted to grant no further charters to segregated locals. Other constricting features of official policy can be modified in the same way. The job ahead is to get unorganized teachers to join the A. F. T. and then to strive for a thorough overhauling of policy to make it reflect less the brittle old-line unionism of the A. F. of L. and more the

The NATION

standards of a profession ready to defend courageous teaching, experimental methods, and the intellectual freedom enshrined in the Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile teachers should join other professional organizations in greater numbers. Excellent ones dealing with almost every phase of educational theory and practice exist but are comparatively feeble. Nor should the N. E. A. be boycotted; rather, its strong controls from above should be supplanted by stronger controls from below. Lastly, inter-organizational policies and programs are needed on such specifics as higher salaries and firmer tenure.

III

Financial support for American schools must be doubled or, more reasonably in terms of needs and capacity to pay, tripled. The most important means to this end is, without doubt, federal aid earmarked exclusively for public schools and colleges. How to get the necessary appropriation bills through a reluctant Congress is the knot that no amount of struggle has so far untied. But any hard-hitting agenda for schools for the people is missing its chance unless it considers several fresh strategies.

One is for all professional organizations which seek federal aid for the schools to get together in a national Political Action Committee for Education (P. A. C. E.). This committee should campaign militantly for the election of Congressmen firmly on record as favoring bills of the kind introduced by Representative Graham Barden. The activities of P. A. C. E. would bring the needs of the schools into the spotlight of political attention, out of the shadows where they have been so easily ignored.

It would be good strategy for P. A. C. E. to establish close connections with as many non-educational groups as possible—with the Farmers' Union, for example—not only for the purpose of obtaining federal aid but also to get more money for the schools in particular areas. In campaigning for increased school taxes or enlightened school-board candidates, the friends of education often fail to state their case persuasively, or to utilize political techniques familiar to organizations toughened by legislative struggles. Organized labor has an excellent record of support for the public schools, but in many cities it exerts no political pressure to make sure its children's interests are well served educationally. The heavy weighting of school and college boards with business and professional persons could be overcome if labor and its friends showed sufficient concern.

But such action would be far from enough. If the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Farmers' Union, and the Railroad Brotherhoods really want American schools to be good schools, they must use some of their own funds to further that objective. For example, the falsehoods in just one of Allen Zoll's widely read pamphlets ("Progres-

sive Education Breeds Juvenile Delinquency") should be exposed through the distribution of a million other pamphlets summarizing the simple findings of research about functional learning. The A. F. of L. spends more money on radio time alone than Zoll's last annual budget (reported at \$45,000), while an organization like the American Education Fellowship, which for over thirty years has been a leading exponent of John Dewey's experimental theories, can barely survive on a budget one-sixth that size.

These proposals do not preclude the cooperation of the National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, or other state and national groups. P. A. C. E. should invite their support, however, on terms that would not compromise its stand on non-parochial federal aid, academic freedom, or any other principle essential to the educational well-being of children in a free democracy.

IV

Instead of retreating, the school system of America must take the offensive in advocating and testing new designs for education. The supply of such designs far outruns the demand. The archives of teachers' colleges are stuffed to overflowing with good ideas that never get beyond the paper stage. I will select three.

First, pilot projects in teacher training, supported both by foundations and taxation, are required to prepare leaders for the following ground-breaking tasks: to determine the great common denominators of modern knowledge as minimum equipment for the general education of every normal person (the Foundation for Integrated Education is indispensable in this work); to provide every teacher with on-the-spot experience in the community and school environment, in other countries as well as his own; to provide study and practice in human relations (psychiatry, anthropology, social psychology, and close cooperation with UNESCO are all essential here); and to examine painstakingly the differences and similarities among the chief contemporary philosophies of education, with a view to determining not only why they reflect great cultural cleavages but how a consensus may be sought as to *which* philosophy should undergird schools of the people in fact as well as word.

Secondly, extensive projects are needed at both ends of the school-life scale. Education is neglectful both of the pre-elementary years, and of the post-high-school and post-college years. Experimental nursery schools and adult learning centers should be established in every state of the union, with allocations of public funds substantial enough to guarantee that they need no longer play the role of educational "poor relations."

Nursery schools are required because if scientists are right in contending that the most crucial years of a per-

son's life are the first six, it is no longer legitimate to leave children under six so exclusively under parent control. Expert guidance in child development is a necessary supplement to home conditioning, even assuming that most public schools train effectively for parenthood, which of course they don't. Post-school education is necessary because adult characters may be so warped by the monstrous influence of radio, television, movies, and the commercial press that they will be unable to distinguish falsehood from truth, right from wrong, unless ways can be found to teach them how to make the distinction. Adult learning centers, geared to community schools and sensitive to individual motivations, are an important but almost untried means of providing this kind of education.

Finally, schools need to experiment intensively with new ways of attacking controversial ideas. Utilizing all the research results available from such centers as the National Laboratory for Group Development, they should completely revamp their social-studies curricula to permit attack by cooperative methods upon the problems closest to the personal and social interests of young men and women on the threshold of maturity. Teacher-centered class work will then be replaced by group-centered interplay among students and teachers. Instead of assuming that answers to social, economic, and moral questions are written down in books, agreements as to their most promising solutions will be developed inductively with the aid of the maximum number of facts, back-and-forth communication among all members of the learning team, and the utmost encouragement of dissent and criticism.

This means that democratic schools dealing with controversial issues ought to open their doors to their own severest critics, whether of the extreme right or of the extreme left. Even real fascists, if they can be found, and real Communists, if they can be found, should be brought into the classroom and invited to show how they think, where they stand, what their facts purport to be. They should not, however, be allowed to propagandize their doctrines. The safeguard lies in the operation of all such experimental classes by panels of teachers representing a variety of convictions and competent to explain them. In the present typical situation the teacher, being lord of all he surveys, can weight his own "objective" teaching with all sorts of subtle or obtuse biases, whereas under the proposed system he would have to meet others of different convictions on equal terms. The pro-capitalist teacher, who now can indoctrinate his pupils with his own ideas wholesale, would no longer be permitted to do so—any more than the Communist, fascist, Socialist, Democratic, or Republican teacher.

The public school, in this conception, becomes also a public forum for the consideration not just of *some* but of *all* proposals warring in our century for the al-

legiance of the people. If the conception can be realized, it will be the best possible answer to the Soviet apologist who reminds us, when we accuse his schools of warping and omitting, that our own do too.

SCIENCE NOTEBOOK

BY LEONARD ENGEL

A MEASURE of the way the world has changed is the remoteness of the cheery pictures of atomic energy doing the world's work that were drawn five or six years ago. Nowadays one hears only of hydrogen bombs, atomic artillery shells, and other new means of bending the greatest achievement of science—the release of the forces within the atom—to the task of killing.

Still, the atom is being put to some constructive use in medicine and other fields, and should soon be put to more, if only because the atomic-arms program is producing a glut of radioactive material for which there is no important military use. This material is a by-product of uranium fission in the piles that generate plutonium for bombs. When an atom of uranium splits, giving up the neutrons needed both to sustain the reaction and to turn other uranium atoms into plutonium, two or more atoms of intermediate weight are formed which have to be disposed of as waste. Since these are usually violently radioactive, the Hanford plant has so far simply buried them in big underground concrete tanks.

The Atomic Energy Commission recently commissioned the Stanford University Research Institute to see what might be done with this vast amount of radioactive material, equivalent to tens of thousands of times the world supply of radium, and also incomparably greater than the supply of special isotopes produced in the Oak Ridge pile. The Stanford report, just issued, suggests some interesting uses for cheap radioactive fission products. Some, such as self-luminescent signs, are in the gadget class, but "cold sterilization" of foods and drugs would be valuable. A number of pharmaceutical manufacturers and university laboratories have been studying the possibility of using X-rays, electron beams, and other forms of radiation for sterilizing the many drug products that are destroyed by heat. Some of these—anti-biotics, for example—are now sterilized by filtering and then packaged under sterile conditions; others—such as protein preparations for intravenous feeding—cannot be dependably sterilized at all and are therefore seldom used. Fission products could be a very cheap source of radiation for cold sterilization.

Another possible use for them is in gamma-ray inspection of steel girders and the like for flaws. X-ray machines are used for this purpose now, but fission products promise portable inspection devices, so that engineers could check up on bridges and other structures on the spot. Their use in fluorescent lamps, to provide a few electricity-conducting ions, would eliminate the need for the high-voltage transformers built into all fluorescent light fixtures. These and other suggestions in the Stanford report do not add up to the atomic age but provide something of a start.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Young Italy Today

A HERO OF OUR TIME. By Vasco Pratolini. Prentice-Hall. \$3.

CERTAIN works of fiction have because of their subject and the specific moment of their appearance a virtue in excess of their artistic achievement. Such a book is Pratolini's latest novel to reach us in English, "A Hero of Our Time."

The author is usually an unhurried craftsman of sure technique and exceptional aptitude of phrase. His distinction among contemporary Italian writers lies, as Pancrazi has said, in the fact that his literary taste is exemplary: those familiar with his long work on the early years of Fascism as they affected the dwellers on a poor street in Florence, "Tale of Poor Lovers," will agree that Pratolini's naturalism is authentic, never forced, never faked in. (As a worker's son, he knows too intimately what he is talking about to make poverty or the sorry day-to-day expedients of survival alluring.)

But in this book he has hurried, he has put it all down pell-mell, because obviously he felt it very urgent to say—and the result is hurried and urgent, the characters are too obvious to be as forceful as the message the novel contains.

"A Hero of Our Time" is a tract, a defiant scream on the part of the author, a demand that something be done. It is a short book which rushes on from the opening pages to its doom after the last page, chronicling the problems of a boy who has become a thorough Fascist—Sandrino, one of the youths who compose Italy's teen-age scourge today. (These are the youths who are members of the M. S. I., the reborn Fascist movement, and who live huddled together in a frenetic state of unhatched plots, uncommitted acts of sabotage and violence, uncompleted crimes of vengeance. Yet the plots, the violence, and the crimes too, are very present in their lives, effectively inhibiting any rational adjustment of the boys themselves to their country's current pace.)

The background of Pratolini's work is the following historico-political situation: the rebirth of Fascism among the young was at first scoffed at in Rome just after the war, then reluctantly admitted, but still not taken seriously. Meanwhile flocks of disaffected youths, jobless and without personal direction or hope, began to "go along" for the excitement, the sense of belonging, and the undeniable nostalgia of the songs and parades and banner-waving. No active measures were taken then to wean these young men from the "neo-Fascists," as *Almirante's* group in Rome and similar groups in other cities soon came to be known. The moderate Socialists were too poor in imagination to realize that they, more than any other party, could have captured this block with a serious educative campaign. But from Silone to the gifted young Matteotti, they were too busy being pure and discussing internal party schisms. The Communists made greater headway because essentially they offered not too dissimilar attractions to the late members of the Fascist Youth and the *Figli della lupa*: they offered demonstrations, songs, some party patronage, soup kitchens, club life, and the hope of a job. But the great majority preferred to steer clear of the "reds," perhaps in honor of their Fascist father's ghost. It is among these that the M. I. S. has made its recruits and that Pratolini has gone for the hero of this irritating but important little book.

For American readers, "A Hero of Our Time" presents a first-hand account of one of the many lost youngsters who, more or less ill-adjusted in comparison with the monstrous Sandrino, reap the Nazi and Fascist harvest. The fate, the decline and fall, of Pratolini's adolescent is too abysmal to be other than a dramatic expedient to cloak his parable. This gives the characters in the drama a stock quality which, to me at least, rendered them, with the exception of the widow of a Fascist big shot and the mother of the protagonist, all but unbelievable. (The work is further hampered by an inexcusable translation. For example, *fattore*, or farm overseer, is

translated factor (p. 8); *pallone*, or soccer, as national a game as our baseball, is left in the original throughout, as is *polenta*, or corn meal; also someone should tell Mr. Mosbacher that to jib and to jibe (p. 114) do not mean the same thing.) But what Pratolini has to say is so important that one forgives him the two-dimensional quality, the black-and-whiteness of his major puppets. He is shouting, in effect: "Don't you see? This is an exaggerated instance of young Italy today, young Europe today! What are we doing about these boys and girls? If we don't care, then what is to become of them? Are we to abandon them to isolated acts of reprisal and despair, or are we to show them a way, *the way*, through compassion and care, to an effective and purposeful life?"

FRANCES KEENE

Our Past and Its Uses

LIVING IDEAS IN AMERICA. Edited and with Commentary by Henry Steele Commager. Harper and Brothers. \$6.

OUR most prolific anthologizer is at it again. This time it is "Living Ideas in America," a big book of 725 pages, in which almost two hundred selections from the writing of distinguished Americans are arranged by topics. In fourteen general categories Henry Steele Commager has drawn upon the ideas of our past for the light they may throw upon the continuing issues that confront the United States, in diplomacy, in politics, in economic policy, and in education. The whole is tied together by a suave commentary that helps the faltering reader from lump to lump of wisdom.

What is gained thereby is difficult to say. This reviewer does not agree that the problems of today, "whatever new and strange forms they may take, are really old and familiar, and that Americans need not look abroad for solutions, or fabricate new ones, but that they can turn, with confidence, to their own historical past." Nor does the volume offer a representative cross-section of Ameri-

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can thinking, even upon the subjects it touches. And what is included is all too often trite and unimaginative; at least a fifth of the selections are pasted together from Mr. Commager's own earlier anthologies.

In the matter of anthologies, of course, it is every man to his own taste—so long as publishers are patient and readers gullible. But in this case the faults go beyond the limits of tolerance. It is not only that, as editor, Mr. Commager is guilty of poor selections (why turn to Laski for an estimate of federalism?), of meaningless clichés (the West is the "most American part of

America"), and of gross exaggeration ("by the time of Woodrow Wilson the principle of the welfare state had been all but universally accepted"). More seriously, the editing often distorts the meaning of the documents.

Two particular practices are responsible for corrupting the quotations. The editor usually has not troubled to turn directly to the sources; and he has not been careful in snipping out, from the longer documents, the brief fragments he quotes. The result is that error creeps insidiously in and the selections sometimes reflect the bias of the editor rather than the intention of the original authors.

For instance, Commager throughout is anxious to emphasize the independence of the American spirit and its separateness from the Old World. Some readers indeed might judge he takes a substantial liberty in naturalizing John Locke and Thomas Paine and in appropriating for this country ideas worked out with reference to France and England. But surely liberty becomes license when the editor alters the text of the famous passage in which Crèvecoeur accounts for the freedom of American law and government. These, Commager has the "American Farmer" proclaim, were derived from the desire of the people "and confirmed by government." The phrase Crèvecoeur actually used, "confirmed by the crown" (1783 ed., p. 50), would not have jibed with the general theme of this volume.

Omissions serve the same purpose. Thus Mr. Commager makes much of the liberalism of the Northwest Ordinance, which bestowed self government and democracy upon the territories. But is it fair to strengthen the case by leaving out the provisions which imposed property qualifications for voting and for holding office and which had the governor, judges, and council appointed by the national government?

Finally, inaccurate editorial comment obfuscates the meaning of the text. Thus, anxious to show that F. D. R.'s election campaign in 1932 "submitted a program of positive governmental action on many fronts," Commager asserts that the Commonwealth Club address "contains Roosevelt's most elaborate analysis of the historic issue of laissez faire and the welfare state." Ac-

tually F. D. R., in the address referred to, simply asked business to regulate itself, and assured his listeners, "The government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort . . . when private initiative . . . has finally failed. As yet there has been no failure. . . ." OSCAR HANDLIN

Concerning Asia

INDIA SINCE PARTITION. By Andrew Mellor. Frederick A. Praeger. \$2.50.

THE COMMONWEALTH IN ASIA. By Sir Ivor Jennings, K. C. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN UNKNOWN INDIAN. By Nirad C. Chaudhuri. The Macmillan Company. \$6.

THE VOICE OF ASIA. By James A. Michener. Random House. \$3.50.

OF THE four books listed above Mr. Mellor's "India Since Partition" is probably the most useful today to persons wishing factual information. It recounts events from shortly before partition on August 15, 1947, until some time in 1950. Though the text consists of only 148 small pages, it contains a surprising amount of narrative and discussion, which in almost all cases is accurate. Mr. Mellor could not deal with everything, but he treats the immediate circumstances of partition, the disastrous violence that accompanied it, the quarrels between India and Pakistan over the Indian states of Junagadh and Kashmir, with some related minor disputes thrown in, the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and its consequences, the problem of Hyderabad, whose ruler did not want to accede to India but was compelled to by circumstances, the main features and significance of India's new constitution, the deplorable economic state of the country, the party structure and differences, and the nation's problems and hopes. It is a modest but worth-while book.

Sir Ivor Jennings, a distinguished student of political science, in his "Commonwealth in Asia," describes the background for constitution-making in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and the new constitutions which India and Ceylon now have. Pakistan has not yet adopted one, or produced a draft. In his

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final chapter he considers the relations of these three nations to the Commonwealth as a whole. The most valuable parts of the book are those which analyze the Indian and Ceylonese constitutions. He finds the former, in spite of its many admirable features, too fulsome and precise to be flexible—too many lawyers were engaged in drawing it up. He treats the compromises effected in Ceylon's constitution more intimately and authoritatively than those of the Indian constitution, probably because of his more intensive experience with Ceylon. Unfortunately, the book's title notwithstanding, he does not treat Malaya and Hongkong, which are also parts of the Commonwealth in Asia. The book should certainly be read by all students of South Asian Affairs.

Mr. Chaudhuri's "Autobiography" is an account of a Bengali's intellectual growth amid the storms of a nationalizing India. He stood partly aside from the process, finding much of the commotion, lack of sophistication, and intolerance distasteful, and his views are by no means those of the average Indian of his background, but are more objective and critical of his country. By profession Mr. Chaudhuri is a journalist and radio commentator; by avocation, a student of history and library-desk military strategist. He has a view that India, after experiencing two periods of outside domination—namely, the Hindu or Indo-Aryan and the Moslem—at the middle of the eighteenth century entered a period of British control. This has now been diverted to general Western control, in which the United States is taking the leading part. To him India's destiny has always been domination and development under great outside forces. His book is well written and presents a cultivated, sensitive modern Indian personality rarely available for Occidentals to meet.

The most extensively advertised and probably most widely read book of the list will of course be Mr. Michener's "Voice of Asia." This is a far cry from "South Pacific." The author went to Japan, Korea, Formosa, Hongkong, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Indo-China, Burma, India, and Pakistan to see for himself. He started out with the thought that Asia has to be saved from communism, and this idea dominates large parts of his account, though at times he

manages to forget it. Perhaps a better way to view Asia would be to put that idea in perspective against the needs of the area, and that would frequently mean in subordination. Mr. Michener's method is strictly the journalist's—that is, reporting based on interviews with living speakers without the encumbrance of any supplementary or preliminary background drawn from reading. This technique he uses admirably, even though it sometimes proves inadequate to cover a situation. He writes in the simplest journalistic style, vivid and rapid, with wide sweep, and no one could fail to grasp what he says. To be sure, he occasionally seems a little ambivalent, as, for example, concerning MacArthur, and his good-humoredly patronizing attitude toward Thailand hardly seems in order. Perhaps his selective, oversimplified approach is likely to reach the American public better than would any other; for students there are other books to be had. Certainly his basic position that world adjustment requires Americans to learn about Asia, treat Asians as equals, consult with them, cooperate with them, and not try to dominate or direct them, is right, and if he gets that idea across, he will do a service to both sides of the globe.

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Books in Brief

LORD CHESTERFIELD AND HIS WORLD. By Samuel Shellabarger. Little, Brown. \$5. There have been biographies of Chesterfield before now, either dull or inaccurate. Bonamy Dobrée's scholarly one is an exception, but it is the introduction to the six-volume edition of letters. For a winning combination of readability, accuracy, and availability we have Mr. Shellabarger's book. Now that he is a historical novelist who makes the cash register ring, Mr. Shellabarger can enjoy an American imprint on his biography, which was published in England fifteen years ago. Chesterfield cut a wide swathe in his time—as diplomat, statesman, politician, and elegant arbiter of Augustan culture. To describe his life and bustling world Mr. Shellabarger skilfully exploits a great mass of documentary sources. He is as thorough and impeccable as the most assiduous

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scholarly drone; but he also vivifies his characters and colors their settings to such an extent that one is reassured by the footnotes and bibliographies (in the back of the book). He also wields a thesis—that Chesterfield's worldly wisdom was a stringent limitation—but he does not use his thesis as an ax to grind. The faults of the book are minor: occasionally the background is so lurid that it looks technicolored; a sprinkling of clichés; a patronizing tone toward rationalism. These hardly matter in a book that is so shapely, thorough, and readable.

THIS FASCINATING ANIMAL WORLD. By Alan Devoe. McGraw-Hill. \$3.75. The author of this somewhat unusual sort of nature book calls himself an "animalizer" rather than a naturalist because he wants to stress the fact that he is an out-of-door observer rather than a scientist of the more usual sort. For some years he has conducted a department in the *American Mercury* devoted to the kind of thing which interests him, and this volume—for which he might have found a more descriptive title—undertakes to answer the kinds of questions which the average reader seems most likely to ask. For the most part they are specific and tend to fall

into the "Is it really true that crocodiles shed tears?" class. As he remarks, this is precisely the sort of thing often difficult to dig out of textbooks, and he manages to answer what must amount to a good many hundred such questions. It should be very useful not only to those who will use it for themselves but also to individuals and institutions to whom the more enterprising members of the general public sometimes apply. Crocodiles, by the way, do weep crocodile tears, though it is not a hypocritical demonstration of sympathy for their victims. When they open their mouths very wide they shed tears for the same reason we shed them after a yawn.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IT IS one of the defects of my education that I have never read a word by Mme Colette. All I know about her is that she spent a normal lifetime writing spicy novels toward which everyone condescended until it was discovered, a decade or so ago, that she was really a classic. Under the circumstances I am in no position to say how faithful is the dramatization which Anita Loos has made from one of her most popular works, "Gigi" (Fulton Theater). As a guess I should hazard that Miss Loos has simplified and broadened it considerably. No literary education is, however, required to make the safe prediction that "Gigi" is the first indisputable non-musical hit of the season and that it will be with us for a good long time. Moreover, it is genuinely amusing.

The time is 1900, and Gilberte—Gigi for short—is the gawky adolescent daughter of a minor singer at the Opéra Comique. Her aunt and her grandmother were *grandes cocottes* in their time, and everybody assumes that this is the normal calling of an ambitious young woman in their circles. The failures may have to abandon the career and go to work; the weak, like Gigi's mother, may ruin their future by self-indulgently falling in love with some unsuitable person. But no one has any doubt about what success consists in. Under the circumstances it is natural that the family should take advantage of

the good fortune which has thrown into their hands a fabulously rich young man-about-town to whom the grandmother has long been a sort of consultant bawd. He is amiable, he is simple-minded, the life he has been leading is merely what is expected of him, and for years he has been bringing licorice sticks to Gigi. When it becomes known that he has just discovered his most recent mistress in bed with a skating teacher, the moment seems to have arrived when he should be introduced to the idea that Gigi is ready to be launched on her career. The successful aunt instructs her in the things which a young professional should know and discusses the business arrangements with the young man. Then, to everybody's amazement, Gigi balks. She tells the young man to his face that the career chosen for her does not appeal to her own tastes. Before he knows exactly what has happened he proposes a respectable marriage, and of course they live happily ever after.

Now there are obviously several wrong ways of treating such a story. It could easily be leered at and just as easily made sentimental. Mme Colette or Miss Loos, or perhaps both together, have wisely chosen instead to make it farce—discreet farce if you like but unmistakable farce none the less. The play is very definitely a period piece with lots of stress on the quaint elegance of the young man and the quaint bourgeois milieu of Gigi's household. All the personages are deftly but definitely caricatured, and the Gallic atmosphere—or at least what Americans believe to be Gallic atmosphere—is laid on thick. The red-fringed tablecloth and the yard-long loaf of bread are just as important as the unusual but perfectly consistent code of all but the youngest member of the family. And of course the moral is unimpeachable. Samuel Richardson would not have liked the piece, but his heroine Pamela would at least have understood it, and "Or Virtue Rewarded" would be a perfectly suitable subtitle. It often pays to say no and often pays best when the sayer, unlike Pamela but like Gigi, does not calculate too consciously on the basis of that fact.

A good deal of the success of the play will be due to the characteristically suave and characteristically chic pro-

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duction which Gilbert Miller has given it. An obviously delighted audience applauded even the special, last-time-I-saw-Paris scene drops, and an obviously happy cast was enjoying itself as much as the spectators. As so often happens under these circumstances, the spectators soon got to the point where they laughed heartily at even the standard farcical bits, blissfully unaware that they had laughed, or refused to laugh, at them hundreds of times before—as, for example, when, not once but twice, an agitated female character sits down on a pair of knitting needles left in a chair.

There is only one thing which puzzles me just a little. *Gigi* is played, pleasantly if a little over boisterously, by a young actress of Irish-Dutch parentage named Audrey Hepburn. But why is she permitted to stress exclusively the gawky, awkward-age aspect of *Gigi*'s character and behavior? Of course one knows from the beginning what is going to happen, but it would surely seem more convincing if *Gigi* were made to appear, even for brief moments, a little better prepared for an amorous episode, either legitimate or illegitimate. Perhaps, however, Mr. Miller tried that and found out that he was right to reject it. Perhaps to make the situation seem more probable would have been also to introduce an actuality which might have given the whole a slightly rancid flavor. If so, it is well that he avoided it, for "*Gigi*" is really quite an innocent play despite its air of naughtiness.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE following are outstanding among the LP recordings of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; London: L; Decca: D; Allegro: A; Haydn Society: H; Cetra: CE; Westminster: W; Urania: U; Period: P; Vanguard: VA; Bach Guild: B; Capitol: CA; Festival: F; Lyricord: LY; Oceanic: O).

Bach: Prades Festival recordings of Suites Nos. 1 and 2 for viola da gamba (Casals), Brandenburg Concertos, Concerto in D minor for two violins (Stern and Schneider), Suite No. 2 for flute and strings (C). Mass in B minor; Der-

mota, Poell, Vienna Symphony and Akademie Kammerchor under Scherchen (W). Toccata in C minor and D, Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue; Valenti, harpsichordist (A).

Bach, K. P. E.: Symphonies No. 1 and 3; Vienna Symphony under Guenther (B).

Beethoven: Serenade Opus 8; Joseph and Lillian Fuchs and Leonard Rose (D). Songs; Ralph Herbert, baritone (A). Piano Sonata Opus 111; Applebaum (imperfect performance) (W).

Berlioz: "La Damnation de Faust"; French musicians conducted by Fournet (C). "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture; Boston Symphony under Münch (V; 78 rpm).

Byrd: Mass for 4 voices; Fleet Street Choir under Lawrence (L).

Couperin: First Tenebrae Service; Cuenod and chamber group under Pinkham (A).

Griffes: "The White Peacock"; Amparito Iturbi, pianist (V; 78 rpm).

Handel: Concerti Opus 3; Vienna Philharmonic under Prohaska (B). Ode for St. Cecilia's Day; German musicians conducted by Artur Rother (U).

Haydn: Symphony No. 92 ("Oxford"); Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky (V). Trios; Goldberg, Pini, Kraus (D). Quartets Opus 64 No. 6 and Opus 76 No. 5; Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet (W). Trumpet Concerto; Wobitsch and Vienna Philharmonic under Heiller (H). St. Cecilia Mass; Viennese musicians conducted by Gillesberger (undistinguished performance) (H).

Mahler: "Kindertotenlieder"; Ferrier, Vienna Philharmonic under Walter (C). Songs from "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Poell, baritone (superb), Sydney, mezzo-soprano (poor), Vienna Philharmonic under Prohaska (VA).

Mozart: "The Marriage of Figaro" and "The Magic Flute"; members of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Von Karajan (C). "The Impresario" and "Bastien et Bastienne"; German musicians conducted by Reinhardt (P). Excerpts from "Così fan tutte"; Glyndebourne Festival 1950 (V). Piano Concerto K.456; Kraus (D). Piano Concerto K.482; Badura-Skoda (poor), Vienna Symphony under Sternberg (good) (O; worth having for clear reproduction of orchestral detail). Piano Concerto K.453; Kirkpatrick (bad),

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phony under Schmidt-Isserstadt (D). Symphony K.201; Orchestre de la suisse romande under Maag (L; veiled sound).

Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli; Roger Wagner Chorale (CA). Magnificat, and works by Lassus, Byrd, Josquin; Harvard University Choir under Russell (F).

Purcell: "The Fairy Queen"; Cambridge Festival performance conducted by Pinkham (A).

Rossini: Excerpts from "Cenerentola"; Simionato, orchestra and chorus of Radio Italiana under Rossi (C; some distortion).

Scarlatti: Sonatas; Haskil (W).

Schubert: "Unfinished" Symphony; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (V). Posthumous Piano Sonata in A; Aitken (E. M. S.). Grand Duo, orchestrated by Joachim; Vienna Philharmonic under Prohaska (VA). Quartet Opus 161; Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet (tempos too slow) (W). Quartet "Death and the Maiden"; Konzerthaus Quartet (first movement too slow) (W). Quintet Opus 163; Konzerthaus Quartet (tempos too slow) (W). "Trout" Quintet; Viennese group (W). Fantasy Opus 103, etc., for piano 4 hands; Badura-Skoda and Demus (W). Songs; Anderson and Rupp (V). "Der Jüngling an der Quelle," "Nachtigall"; Lehmann (FV; 78 rpm).

Schumann: Piano Concerto; Lipatti, Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan (C). Etudes Symphoniques; Casadesu (C).

Strauss: "Don Juan"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (V).

Stravinsky: "Le Sacre de printemps" and 1919 Suite from "The Firebird"; Orchestre de la suisse romande under Ansermet (L). Capriccio; Haas and RIAS Symphony under Fricsay (D).

Tchaikovsky: Piano Trio; Rubinstein, Heifetz, Piatigorsky (V). Symphony No. 5; Berlin Philharmonic under Fricsay (D).

Verdi: "La Traviata"; Albanese, Pearce, N. B. C. Symphony under Toscanini (V). Excerpts from Act 3 of "Don Carlo"; members of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Baltzer (in German) (CA).

Wagner: Act 2 of "Die Meistersinger"; members of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Knappertsbusch (L). Duet from Act 2 of "Tristan und Isolde"; Flagstad, Svanholm, Shacklock, Philharmonia Orchestra under Böhm (V).

Wolf: Songs; Poell (W).

Miscellaneous: Spanish and Italian songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Cuenod (W). Mozart arias and German lieder sung by Dermota (L). Arias from Tchaikovsky's "The Queen of Spades" and Verdi's "Un Ballo in Maschera" sung by Welitch (L). Arias by Gluck, Handel, and Monteverdi sung by Margarete Klose (U). Verdi arias sung by Steber (C).

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December 15, 1951

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

History Repeats Itself?

Dear Sirs: When I first saw the *Collier's* cover for October 27, 1951, with the United Nations flag stuck on a pin at Moscow "Occupation Headquarters" I immediately thought of the summer of 1941 when I was in Tokyo. My attention was often attracted by a poster then displayed on station platforms and elsewhere. It showed a Japanese schoolboy holding a pin flag of Japan which he was in the act of sticking into a large map of the Philippines.

Daily the wisdom of the ancient saying becomes more evident: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

This comment, of course, is inspired by D. F. Fleming's courageous article in the November 10 *Nation*.

Washington

DAVID T. RAY

Puerto Rican Smith Act

Dear Sirs: Your readers might be interested to learn that Ruth M. Reynolds, an American citizen, native of South Dakota, was recently convicted in Puerto Rico under Insular Law No. 53, the counterpart of the Smith act, and sentenced to two to six years at hard labor. She had spent several years in Puerto Rico to gather material for a book, and as a passionate believer in Puerto Rican independence at times associated with members of the Nationalist Party. However, she denies membership in the party and declares that she cannot condone or indorse violence on the part of any movement or cause.

The basis for her conviction on the charge of advocating the overthrow of the Puerto Rican government was the flimsy allegation that in December, 1949, she was one of several hundred persons at a meeting to whom an oath to support the Nationalist Party was read and who rose in token of agreement. Miss Reynolds denies that she took the oath, pointing out that she is not a Puerto Rican. No one else at the meeting, not even the person who read the oath, has even been indicted on this ground, and no evidence whatever was introduced by the prosecution to establish any connection between Miss Reynolds's attendance at this meeting in Arecibo and the revolt in San Juan in November, 1950, in connection with which Miss Reynolds was arrested.

Nor was there any evidence that she had any part in the revolt except as a spectator.

More detailed information on the case can be obtained from Julius Eichel, of the Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee, 769 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn 13, N. Y. The committee, largely composed of persons who knew Ruth Reynolds when she was engaged in anti-imperialist and pacifist activities in the United States, is desperately in need of several thousand dollars to pay the cost of her recent defense and of an appeal. Hastening the appeal is the more urgent because bail is set at the outrageous figure of \$25,000 and very likely cannot be raised. The committee is solely concerned with the defense of this one case, and contributing to it does not involve taking any position with respect to controversial political issues affecting Puerto Rico.

A. J. MUSTE, Secretary,
Fellowship of Reconciliation

New York

Continue the Battle!

Dear Sirs: I wish to compliment you, Morris Mitchell, and Dr. Theodore Brameld for the outstanding article entitled *Fever Spots in American Education* in your October 27 issue. This type of courageous, factual treatment of an important subject is much needed today.

As an educator in one of the difficult areas mentioned in the article, I am fully aware of the dangers of the type of criticism which your fine article exposes. We are tremendously concerned in San Diego about such attacks on American freedoms.

I sincerely hope that more of our leading magazines will continue the battle for free schools.

WAYNE C. FRY

San Diego, Cal.

Tribal Attorney Controversy

Dear Sirs: Contrary to the impression created by your editorial paragraph published in your October 13 issue, these are the facts regarding the proposed regulations covering contracts between private attorneys and Indian tribes:

1. No denial of due process is involved.

2. The proposed regulations do *not* place tribal attorneys under the super-

vision of the Commissioner. This was required under bureau policy in effect from 1946 to 1950, but the proposed regulations call merely for a periodic report.

3. We know of no actions involving need for a tribal attorney which have been brought against the Commissioner.

4. Far from being "directly contrary to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934," the proposed regulations are explicitly based on authority set forth in that statute.

M. M. TROZIER,

Information Officer,

Bureau of Indian Affairs

Washington, D. C.

[Criticism of the proposed regulations similar to ours have been voiced by the Association of American Indian Affairs, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the American Bar Association, and other organizations. So much opposition has been aroused by the new regulations that public hearings are to be held by the Department of Interior and the Senate in the near future.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

PERSONALS

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The A. F. T. and Academic Freedom

Dear Sirs: In his article Teachers and the Thing, which appeared in your November 3 issue, Goodwin Watson stated that the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and Americans for Democratic Action "... have concurred in the ban on Communists."

I am sure Dr. Watson will be pleased to have the misleading information given concerning the A. F. T. corrected. The A. F. T. passed a resolution on academic freedom at their National convention in 1948 which in part read "[the A. F. T.] deplores the current hysteria which threatens ... to destroy hard-won principles of academic freedom ... We hold, therefore, that membership in an organization or in a legal political party is not in and of itself sufficient grounds for the dismissal of a teacher." This resolution was adopted by a majority vote; a similar one which reaffirmed the principles laid down in the 1949 resolution was adopted by the 1950 convention with only two dissenting votes.

It is evident that the A. F. T. is not among those who in their anti-Communist fanaticism, have lost their powers of discriminating.

Yonkers, N. Y. BENJAMIN MAZEN

[While holding that membership in an organization or legal political party is not of itself ground for the dismissal of a teacher, the A. F. T. does insist on a test of non-totalitarianism for membership, as Theodore Brameld writes on page 524.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Something Missing . . .

Dear Sirs: As a political scientist on the faculty of a Philadelphia university and a person who has studied and lectured on the social and political problems in this area, I must take strong issue with Charles Allen's facile generalizations and his ingenuousness with regard to the multiple facets of social and political ferment in Philadelphia in his article, The Philadelphia Story, which appeared in your October 27 issue. His easy dismissal of the "Home Rule" Charter campaign—a real grass roots movement which swept the city—and his inept attempt to dismiss the campaign on the Charter as the turning point in the local controlling party's history, is to fail to see the major shift in the social and political forces in this city. . . .

The campaign was important in ways

not ascertainable from Mr. Allen's hasty deduction of a change of heart in the city organization. Basic issues were at stake. . . . There was more to the political situation than the suicide of a few political office holders. . . . The first home rule code for Philadelphia goes into effect in January. One issue which had to be settled was whether or not the new code was to be placed in the hands of those who had fought it so bitterly last April. Another was whether or not the city-county consolidation plan—which would eliminate hundreds of county jobs now held by the followers of the city political machine—would be approved. . . .

One cannot write with any degree of accuracy about political ills in Philadelphia without at least alluding to the long-standing and exacerbated social ills resulting from governmental neglect. There are, for example, more than 300,000 Negroes in this city, most of whom can find housing only in what has become a ghetto-like inner city whose problems of crime and delinquency defy description. Segregation, by custom and connivance, condemns Negroes—even in improved public housing—to live in the less desirable areas of the city. There is the century-old problem of separatism, neighborhoods . . . which are run like private principalities by ward leaders. . . .

HARRY M. SHAPIRO

Philadelphia

Something Missed

Dear Sirs: Everything which Mr. Shapiro points out is undoubtedly accurate—and obvious. Mr. Shapiro missed the point of The Philadelphia Story: how a corrupt machine attempts to survive in the face of imminent political death. I also received correspondence from other "political scientists" in the Philadelphia area. One grasped the point of my piece immediately when he wrote, "It's inadvisable to labor such a transparent piece of strategy as that devised by the Republican machine here. The technique of damning by faint praise is both time-honored and effective."

CHARLES ALLEN, JR.

New York

The Slick Mentality

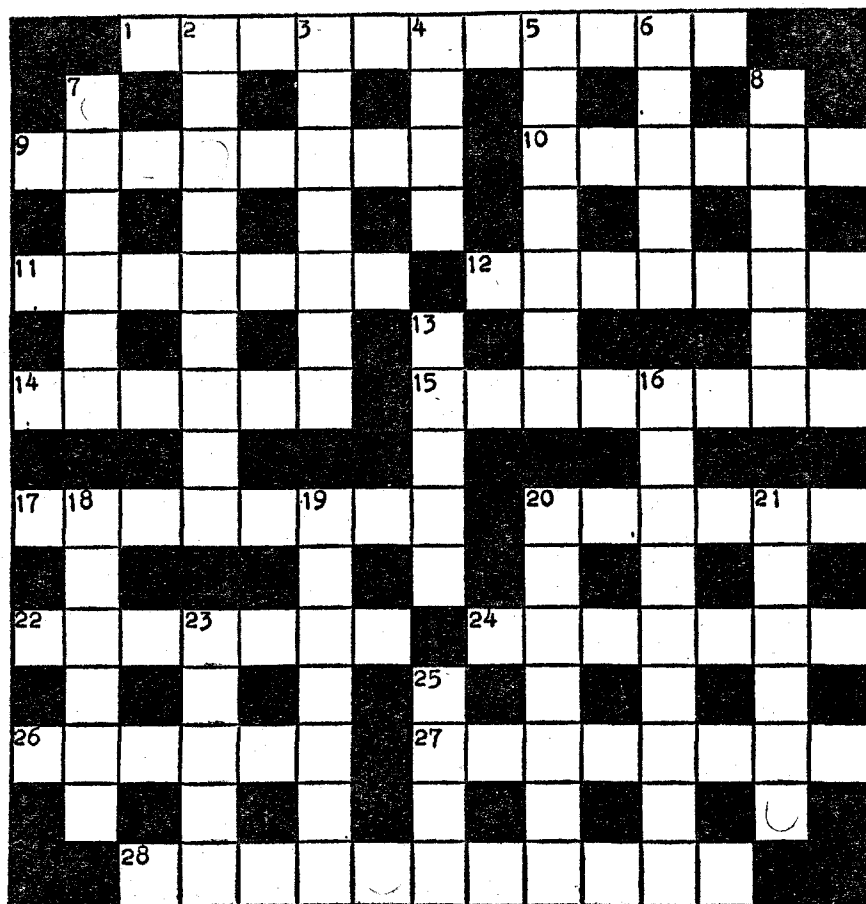
Dear Sirs: Thank you sincerely for your presentation of Collier's Wins World War III, by D. F. Fleming. Truly we have more than Russia to fear these days if this issue of one of our "slicks" is indicative of the "thinking" of America.

ALBERT H. BALLER

Greenfield, Mass.

Crossword Puzzle No. 443

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A break in the levee? (4, 7)
- 9 Tell little Edward to succeed at this time or get thrashed! (8)
- 10 A felid usually gets more mixed up around us! (6)
- 11 Slander. (7)
- 12 Individual time of the order? (7)
- 14 and 16 down Hides the evidence, but goes over everything thoroughly! (6, 3, 6)
- 15 and 25 down Annie Oakley? (8, 4)
- 17 Fruit sack and nothing else to write with. (8)
- 20 Improves compensation. (6)
- 22 What one does with strabismus. (7)
- 24 Traditionally wears a 25 and 15 irons. (7)
- 26 I'm dead around the head! (6)
- 27 See 8 down.
- 28 Quick Quakers? (4, 7)

DOWN

- 2 How some landlubbers dislike ocean travel! (2, 7)
- 3 Where you might find apteryx birds around an American club. (7)
- 4 Puts two and two together like a dentist. (4)

- 5 The myalgia of a decapitated 17. (7)
- 6 Match portion of 16's bottom. (5)
- 7 Gilbert island emperor. (6)
- 8 and 27 Liberal in the roll of the abandoned. (4, 2, 3, 5)
- 13 The way to legally hinder poets? (5)
- 16 See 14 across
- 18 The British might say this kind of measure was worth 51 pounds? (6)
- 19 Where one might eat on the floorboards? (7)
- 20 To bring to a head. (7)
- 21 It might be a blemish to become an apostate. (6)
- 23 This country goes in half of 26. (6)
- 25 See 15 across.

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 443

ACROSS:—1 GOLDEN WEDDING; 9 TIGER; 10 CAMPANULA; 11 ITALICS; 12 STUFFED; 13 GILLS; 14 SIEGFRIED; 16 PASTORATE; 18 ASPIC; 19 TIMIDER; 21 PICCOLO; 22 APPLE CART; 23 RIPEN; 24 ENTREPRENEURS.

DOWN:—1 GETTING UP STEAM; 2 LOG TABLES; 3 EARWIGS; 4 WICKS; 5 DAMA SCENE; 6 IN A HUFF; 7 GRUFF; 8 PADDED ACCOUNTS; 14 STAIRCASE; 15 IMPROMPTU; 17 ODDMENT; 18 ALCORAN; 20 MAPLE; 21 PETER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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